Abraham Lincoln

Library
St. Mary's High School
Sleepy Eye, Minnesota

View Of Sangamon River

View From New Salem Hill

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Volume Two

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
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LINCOLN MEMORIAL, POTOMAC PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C., DEDICATED 1922.
Within is the beautiful statue of Lincoln by Daniel C. French.

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Drawn from Original Sources and Containing Many Speeches, Letters, and Telegrams Hitherto Unpublished

ILLUSTRATED

With Many Reproductions from Original Photographs, Paintings, etc.

BY

IDA M. TARBELL

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1928

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New Edition In Two Volumes
Published, October, 1928

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY T. MOREY & SON

6695

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THE LIFE
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LIFE OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER XXI

MR. LINCOLN AS PRESIDENT-ELECT

ALTHOUGH the election of November 6 made Lincoln the President-elect of the United States, for four months he could exercise no direct influence on the affairs of the country. If the South tried to make good her threat to secede in case he was elected, he could do nothing to restrain her. The South did try, and at once. With the very election returns the telegraph brought Lincoln news of disruption. Day by day this news continued, and always more alarming. On November 10, the United States senators from South Carolina resigned. Six weeks later that state passed an ordinance of secession and began to organize an independent government. By the end of December the only remnant of United States authority in South Carolina was the small garrison commanded by Major Anderson which occupied Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. The remaining forts and batteries of that harbor, the lighthouse tender, the arsenal, the post-office, the custom-house, in short, everything in the state over which the Stars and Stripes had floated, was under the Palmetto Flag.

In his quiet office in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln read,

in January, reports of the proceedings of conventions in Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana, by all of which states, in that month, ordinances of secession were adopted. In February he saw representatives of these same states unite in a general convention at Montgomery, Alabama, and the newspapers told him how promptly and intelligently they went to work to found a new nation, the Southern Confederacy, to provide it with a constitution and to give it officers.

Mr. Lincoln observed that each state, as she went out of the Union, prepared to defend her course if necessary. On November 18, Georgia appropriated $1,000,000 to arm the state, and in January she seized Forts Pulaski and Jackson and the United States arsenal. Louisiana appropriated all the federal property in her borders, even to the mint and custom-house and the money they contained. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi were not behind in their seizures, and when the new government was formed at Montgomery, it promptly took up the question of defending its life.

Mr. Lincoln was not only obliged to sit inactive and watch this steady dissolution of the Union, but he was obliged to see what was still harder—that the administration which he was to succeed was doing nothing to check the destructionists. Indeed, all through this period proof accumulated that members of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet had been systematically working for many months to disarm the North and equip the South. The quantity of arms sent quietly from Northern arsenals was so great that the citizens

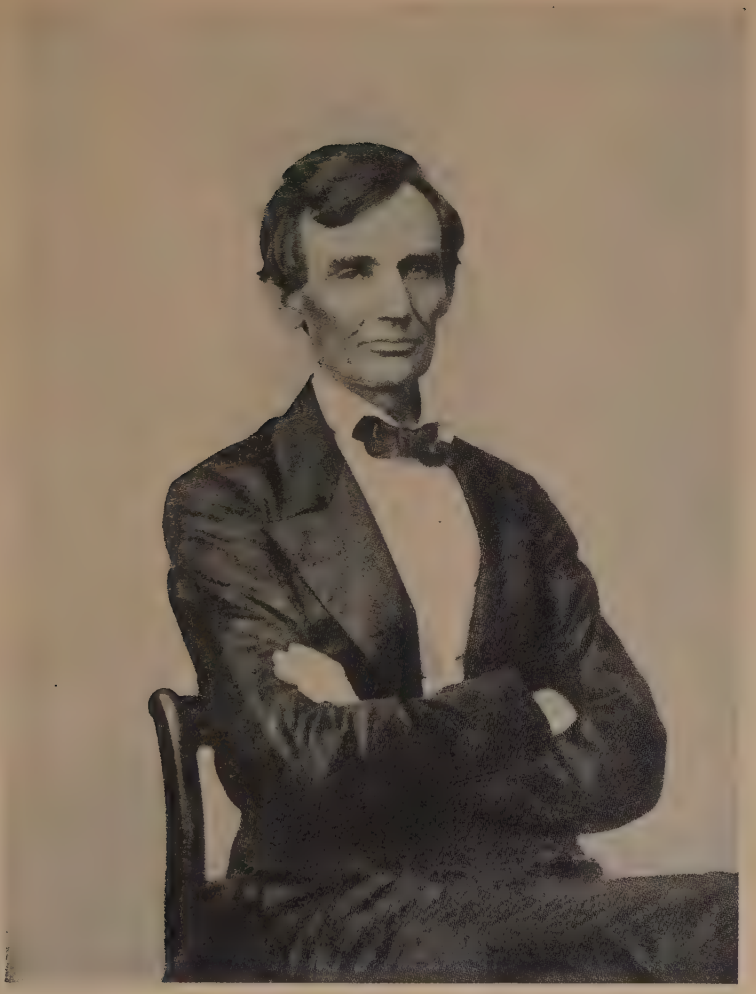
of the towns from which they went became alarmed. Thus the Springfield "Republican" of January 2, 1861, noted that the citizens of that town were growing excited over "the procession of government licenses which, during the last spring and summer, and also quite recently, have been engaged in transporting from the United States Armory to the United States freight station, an immense quantity of boxes of muskets marked for Southern distribution." "We find," the paper continues, "that in 1860 there were removed for safe-keeping in other arsenals 135,430 government arms. This has nothing to do with the distribution occasionally made for state militia." And when, in December, the citizens of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, found that 123 cannon had been ordered South from the arsenal there, they made such energetic protests that President Buchanan was obliged to countermand the order of his Secretary of War.

The rapid disintegration which followed the election of Mr. Lincoln filled the North with dismay. There was a general demand for some compromise which would reassure the South and stop secession. It was the place of the Republicans, the conservatives argued, to make this compromise. A furious clamor broke over Mr. Lincoln's head. His election had caused the trouble; now what would he do to quell it? How much of the Republican platform would he give up? Among the newspapers which pleaded with the President-elect to do something to reassure the South the most able was the New York "Herald." Lincoln was a "sectional President," declared the "Herald," who, out of 4,700,000 votes cast, had re-

ceived but 1,850,000, and whom the South had had no part in electing.

"If Mr. Lincoln intends to carry on the government according to the principles laid down in the Chicago platform and the documents issued under the authority of the Republican 'national' committee, the inevitable tendency of his administration will be to encourage servile insurrections and to make the Southern States still more uncomfortable within the Union than they could by any possibility be without it. . . . If the new President recognizes the fact that he is not bound by the Chicago platform—the people having repudiated it; . . . if he comes out and tells the people that he will govern the country according to the views of the majority, and not to serve the purposes of the minority, all may yet be well. . . . Mr. Lincoln must throw his pledges to the winds, let his party go to the perdition in its own way, and devote himself to the service of the whole country. It is Mr. Lincoln's bounden duty to come out now and declare his views."

It was not only the opposition press which urged Lincoln to compromise; many frightened Republican newspapers joined their influence. The appeals of thousands of letters and of scores of visitors were added to the arguments of the press. Lincoln, however, refused to express his views anew. "I know the justness of my intentions," he told an interviewer in November, "and the utter groundlessness of the pretended fears of the men who are filling the country with their clamor. If I go into the presidency, they will find me as I am on record, nothing less, nothing more. My declarations have been made to the world without reservation. They have been often repeated, and now self-respect demands of me and



LINCOLN IN 1860.

From an ambrotype taken in Springfield, Illinois, on August 13, 1860, and bought by Mr. William H. Lambert from Mr. W. P. Brown of Philadelphia. Mr. Brown writes of the portrait: "This picture, along with another one of the same kind, was presented by President Lincoln to my father, J. Henry Brown, deceased (miniature artist), after he had finished painting Lincoln's picture on ivory, at Springfield, Illinois. The commission was given my father by Judge Read (John M. Read of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania), immediately after Lincoln's nomination for the presidency. One of the ambrotypes I sold to the Historical Society of Boston, Massachusetts, and it is now in their possession." The miniature referred to is now owned by Mr. Robert T. Lincoln. It was engraved by Samuel Sartain, and circulated widely before the inauguration. After Mr. Lincoln grew a beard, Sartain put a beard on his plate, and the engraving continued to sell extensively.

of the party which has elected me that, when threatened, I should be silent."

Business was brought almost to a standstill throughout the North by the prospect of disunion. "It is an awful time for merchants," wrote a correspondent to Charles Sumner, "worse than in 1857. And if there is not some speedy relief, more than half of the best concerns in the country will be ruined." Numbers of prominent men urged the President-elect to say something conciliatory for the sake of trade. His replies published in Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln" are marked by spirit and decision. To one man of wealth he wrote on November 10:

"I am not insensible to any commercial or financial depression that may exist, but nothing is to be gained by fawning around the 'respectable scoundrels' who got it up. Let them go to work and repair the mischief of their own making, and then perhaps they will be less greedy to do the like again."

And to Henry J. Raymond, the editor of the New York "Times," he gave, on November 28, in answer to a request for his views, what he called a "demonstration" of the correctness of his judgment that he should say nothing for the public:

"On the 20th instant, Senator Trumbull made a short speech, which I suppose you have both seen and approved. Has a single newspaper, heretofore against us, urged that speech upon its readers with a purpose to quiet public anxiety? Not one, so far as I know. On the contrary, the Boston 'Courier' and its class hold me responsible for that speech, and endeavor to inflame the North with the belief that it foreshadows an abandonment of Republican ground

by the incoming administration while the Washington 'Constitution' and its class hold the same speech up to the South as an open declaration of war against them. This is just as I expected, and just what would happen with any declaration I could make. These political fiends are not half sick enough yet. Party malice, and not public good, possesses them entirely. 'They seek a sign, and no sign shall be given them.' At least such is my present feeling and purpose."

While refusing positively to express himself for the general public at this time, Lincoln wrote and talked freely to the Republican leaders, almost all of whom were busy with one or another scheme for quieting the distracted nation. On the opening of Congress, a committee of thirty-three had been appointed by the House to consider "the present perilous condition of the country," and the Republican members wished to know what Mr. Lincoln would yield. The Hon. William Kellogg, the Illinois member of the committee, wrote to him. His reply, dated December 11, is unmistakable:

"Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again: all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over. Douglas is sure to be again trying to bring in his 'popular sovereignty.' Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later. You know I think the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced—to put it in its mildest form, ought not to be resisted."

While the committee of thirty-three was seeking grounds for a settlement in the House, a committee of thirteen was busy in the Senate in the same search.

On the latter committee was William H. Seward, and he too sent to Mr. Lincoln for a suggestion. In reply, the President-elect sent Mr. Seward, by Thurlow Weed, a memorandum which was supposed to have been lost until a few months ago when it was discovered by Mr. Frederick Bancroft in course of his researches for a life of Seward. Two points are covered in this memorandum. The first that the fugitive slave law should be enforced, the second that the Federal Union must be preserved. In a letter to the Hon. E. B. Washburne, written on December 13th, Lincoln again stated his views on slavery extension:

"Prevent, as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on 'slavery extension.' There is no possible compromise upon it but which puts us under again and leaves all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel."

These counsels were given while secession was still in its infancy. The alarming developments which followed did not cause Lincoln to waver. On January 11, he wrote to the Hon. J. T. Hale a letter published by Nicolay and Hay, in which he said:

"What is our present condition? We have just carried an election on principles fairly stated to the people. Now we are told in advance the government shall be broken up unless we surrender to those we have beaten, before we take the

offices. In this they are either attempting to play upon us or they are in dead earnest. Either way, if we surrender, it is the end of us and of the government. They will repeat the experiment upon us *ad libitum*. A year will not pass till we shall have to take Cuba as a condition upon which they will stay in the Union. They now have the Constitution under which we have lived over seventy years, and acts of Congress of their own framing, with no prospect of their being changed; and they can never have a more shallow pretext for breaking up the government, or extorting a compromise, than now. There is, in my judgment, but one compromise which would really settle the slavery question, and that would be a prohibition against acquiring any more territory."

It was not the North and the Republicans alone that appealed to Mr. Lincoln; the Unionists of the South urged him for an explanation which they might present to the people as proof that there was nothing to fear from his election. Lincoln had no faith that any expression of his would be heeded; yet he did, confidentially, express himself frankly to many Southerners who came to him in Springfield, and there are two letters of his published by Nicolay and Hay which show how completely he grasped the essential difference between the North and the South, and with what justice and kindness he put the case to those who disagreed with him. The first of these letters was written to John A. Gilmer, a member of Congress from North Carolina, who desired earnestly to preserve the Union, but not unless the opinions of the South were considered. Mr. Gilmer had written to Mr. Lincoln, asking his position on certain questions. Mr. Lincoln replied:

LINCOLN HOME, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

From a photograph by A. J. Wipple of Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Lincoln and one of his sons stand inside the fence. The Lincoln residence in Springfield was purchased by Mr. Lincoln from the Rev. Charles Dresser in 1844. It was built by Mr. Dresser in 1839. Originally it was a story and a half in height; it was painted white, with green window blinds and white chimneys. Though now near the centre, it stood at the time of its purchase by Lincoln, on the very outskirts of the place. For many years after Mr. Lincoln moved away in 1861, it was occupied by numerous and often indifferent tenants. It was vacant much of the time. In 1883 Captain O. H. Oldroyd, now of Washington, D. C., rented the house and threw open its doors to the public. He maintained it at his own expense until 1887, when the State of Illinois, by the gift of Robert Lincoln, became owner of the place, and appointed Captain Oldroyd its first custodian. It has since been open to the public.

"Carefully read pages 18, 19, 74, 75, 88, 89, and 267 of the volume of joint debates between Senator Douglas and myself, with the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, and all your questions will be substantially answered. I have no thought of recommending the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, nor the slave-trade among the slave states, even on the conditions indicated; and if I were to make such recommendation, it is quite clear Congress would not follow it.

"As to employing slaves in arsenals and dock-yards, it is a thing I never thought of in my life, to my recollection, till I saw your letter; and I may say of it precisely as I have said of the two points above.

"As to the use of patronage in the slave states, where there are few or no Republicans, I do not expect to inquire for the politics of the appointee, or whether he does or not own slaves. I intend, in that matter, to accommodate the people in the several localities, if they themselves will allow me to accommodate them. In one word, I never have been, am not now, and probably never shall be in a mood of harassing the people either North or South.

"On the territorial question I am inflexible, as you see my position in the book. On that there is a difference between you and us; and it is the only substantial difference. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. For this neither has any just occasion to be angry with the other.

"As to the state laws mentioned in your sixth question, I really know very little of them. I never have read one. If any of them are in conflict with the fugitive-slave clause, or any other part of the Constitution, I certainly shall be glad of their repeal; but I could hardly be justified, as a citizen of Illinois, or as President of the United States, to recommend the repeal of a statute of Vermont or South Carolina."

A week later, Mr. Lincoln wrote to A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, in reply to a note in which Stephens had

said: "The country is certainly in great peril, and no man ever had heavier or greater responsibilities resting upon him than you have in the present momentous crisis." Mr. Lincoln's reply was:

"I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."

The uproar which raged about Mr. Lincoln soon became quite as loud over "coercion" as over "compromise." Each passing week made conciliation more difficult, saw new elements of disunion realized. What was to be done with the seceding states? What was to be done about the forts and arsenals, custom-houses and post-offices, they were seizing? If Mr. Lincoln would not compromise, was he going to let the states and the federal property go, or was he going to compel them to return with it? Did he propose to coerce the South? Though the President-elect refused to give any expression of opinion on the subject to the country, it was not because he was not perfectly clear in his own mind. Secession he considered impossible. "My opinion is," he wrote Thurlow

Weed on December 17, "that no state can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others; and that it is the duty of the President and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is."

When Horace Greeley began a series of editorials in the "Tribune" contending that if seven or eight states sent agents to Washington saying, "We want to get out of the Union," he should feel constrained by his devotion to human liberty to say "Let them go," Lincoln said nothing publicly, though in Springfield it was believed that he considered the policy "dangerous and illogical." He certainly was only amused at Fernando Wood's scheme to take New York City out of the Union and make it a free city—another Hamburg. "I reckon," he said to a New Yorker in February, in discussing the subject, "that it will be some time before the front door sets up house-keeping on its own account."

As to the forts and other federal property seized by the outgoing states, he seems to have felt from the first that they were to be retaken. In this matter he sought guidance from Andrew Jackson. Less than a week after his election, a correspondent of the "Evening Post" found him engaged in reading the history of the nullifiers of 1832 and 1833 and of the summary way in which "Old Hickory" dealt with them. In December he wrote to his friend E. B. Washburne, who had just reported to him an interview with General Scott, the general in command of the army, on the dangers of the situation:

"Please present my respects to the General, and tell him, confidentially, that I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either hold or retake the forts, as the case may require, at and after the inauguration."

And the very next day, he wrote to Major David Hunter:

"The most we can do now is to watch events and be as well prepared as possible for any turn things may take. If the forts fall, my judgment is that they are to be retaken."

From the foregoing letters it will be seen that Mr. Lincoln had stripped his opinions on the questions of the day of all verbiage and non-essentials and reduced them to the following simple propositions:

(1) Slavery is wrong, and must not be extended.

(2) Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery.

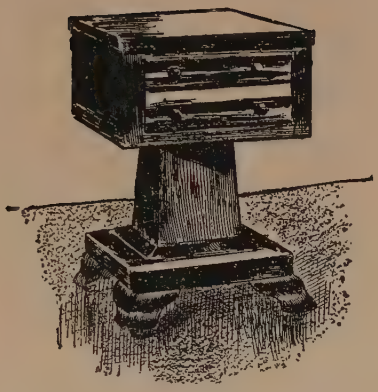
(3) No state can in any way lawfully get out of the Union, without the consent of the others. It is the duty of the President and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is.

(4) If the forts fall, my judgment is that they are to be retaken.

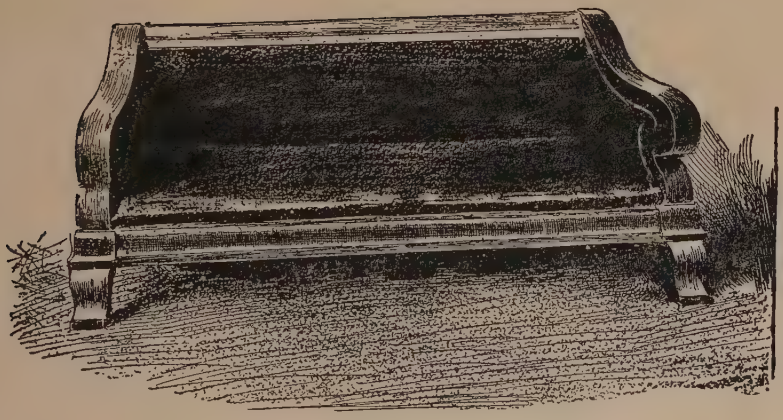
To these simple statements he stuck throughout this period of confusion and distress, refusing to allow them to be obscured by words and passion, and making them his guide in the work of preparation for his inauguration.

Three things especially occupied him in this preparation: (1) Making the acquaintance of the men with whom he was to be associated in the administration. (2) His cabinet. (3) His inaugural address.

CHAIR FROM LINCOLN HOME.



WORK-TABLE FROM LINCOLN HOME.



SOFA FROM THE LINCOLN HOME IN SPRINGFIELD.

The sofa, which is of mahogany veneer, upholstered with hair cloth, was made to order for Lincoln, he being unable to find one ready made which was *long enough* for his use. When Lincoln left Springfield for Washington much of the furniture in his house was sold. This sofa was bought by Mr. John E. Roll, who sold it to the Lincoln Memorial Collection. The price paid was one hundred dollars. For several days after the sale the sofa stood in front of a store in Springfield, the idle taking turns in sitting on "an old sofa worth a hundred dollars."

The first letter Lincoln wrote after his election was to Hannibal Hamlin, the Vice-President-elect, asking for an interview. The two gentlemen met at the Tremont House, Chicago, on November 23. Mr. Hamlin once gave to a friend, Mr. C. J. Prescott, of New York, an account of this meeting, which Mr. Prescott has written out for this work:

"Mr. Hamlin was for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of Waterville College, now Colby University, Waterville, Maine. On one of the annual commencement occasions, I found him one afternoon seated on the piazza of the Elmwood, for the moment alone and unoccupied. Taking a chair by his side, I said: 'Mr. Hamlin, when did you first meet Mr. Lincoln?' 'Well,' said he, 'I very plainly recall the circumstances of our first meeting. It was in Chicago. Some time before the inauguration, I received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, asking me to see him before I went to Washington. So I went to Chicago, where I was to meet Mr. Lincoln. Sending my card to Mr. Lincoln's room, I received word to "come right up." I found the door open, and Mr. Lincoln approaching with extended hand. With a hearty welcome, he said, "I think I have never met you before, Mr. Hamlin, but this is not the first time I have seen you. I have just been recalling the time when, in '48, I went to the Senate to hear you speak. Your subject was not new, but the ideas were sound. You were talking about slavery, and I now take occasion to thank you for so well expressing what were my own sentiments at that time."'

"'Well, Mr. President,' said I, 'this is certainly quite a remarkable coincidence. I myself have just been recalling the first time I ever saw you. It must have been about the same time to which you allude. I was passing through the House, and was attracted by some remarks on the subject of slavery from one of the new members. They told me it was Lincoln, of Illinois. I heard you through, and I very

well remember how heartily I endorsed every point you made. And, Mr. President, I have no doubt we are still in perfect accord on the main question.' "

The result of the Chicago interview was a cordial understanding between the two men which lasted throughout their administration. This was to be expected, for they were not unlike in character and experience. The same kind of democratic feeling inspired their relations with others. Both "marched with the boys." Both were eminently companionable. Hamlin liked a good story as well as Lincoln and told almost as many. He had, too, the same quaint way of putting things. Like Lincoln, Hamlin had been born poor and had had a hand-to-hand struggle to get up in the world. He had worked on a farm, chopped logs, taught school, studied law at night; in short, turned his hand cheerfully and eagerly to anything that would help him to realize his ambitions. Like Lincoln, he had gone early into politics, and, like Lincoln again, he had revolted from his party in 1856 to join the Republicans.

A great many men were summoned to Springfield by Lincoln, in order that he might learn their views more perfectly. Among those who came, either by his direct or indirect invitation, were Edward Bates, Thurlow Weed, David Wilmot, A. K. McClure, George W. Julian, E. D. Baker, William Sweeney, Horace Greeley, and Carl Schurz. With many of them Lincoln did not hesitate to talk over his cabinet. Thurlow Weed says that when he visited the President-elect in December, the latter introduced the subject of the cabinet, saying that "he supposed I had

had some experience in cabinet-making, that he had a job on hand, and as he had never learned that trade, he was disposed to avail himself of the suggestions of friends." "The making of a cabinet," he continued, "now that he had it to do, was by no means as easy as he had supposed; that he had, even before the result of the election was known, assuming the probability of success, fixed upon the two leading members of his cabinet; but that, in looking about for suitable men to fill the other departments, he had been much embarrassed, partly from his want of acquaintance with the prominent men of the day, and partly, he believed, because that, while the population had greatly increased, really great men were scarcer than they used to be."

The two members of his cabinet on whom Lincoln fixed so early were Seward and Chase. He wrote Seward on December 8, asking permission to nominate him as Secretary of State, and saying:

"It has been my purpose, from the day of the nomination at Chicago, to assign you, by your leave, this place in the administration. I have delayed so long to communicate that purpose in deference to what appeared to me a proper caution in the case. Nothing has been developed to change my view in the premises; and I now offer you the place, in the hope that you will accept it, and with the belief that your position in the public eye, your integrity, ability, learning, and great experience, all combine to render it an appointment pre-eminently fit to be made."

Seward took three weeks to consider, and finally, on December 28, wrote that, "after due reflection and

much self-distrust," he had concluded it was his duty to accept.

Lincoln did not approach Chase on the subject of the cabinet until some three weeks after he had written Seward. Then, on December 31, he wrote him this brief note:

"In these troublous times I would much like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once."

Chase reached Springfield on the evening of January 3, and Lincoln, in his informal way, went to the hotel to see him. Chase afterward described the interview in a letter to a friend:

"He said he had felt bound to offer the position of Secretary of State to Mr. Seward as the generally recognized leader of the Republican Party, intending, if he declined it, to offer it to me. He did not wish that Mr. Seward should decline it, and was glad that he had accepted, and now desired to have me take the place of Secretary of the Treasury."

Chase did not promise to accept, only to think it over, and so the situation stood until the appointment was actually made in March.

It was Pennsylvania and the South that gave Lincoln the greatest trouble. "Pennsylvania," he told Weed, "any more than New York or Ohio, cannot be overlooked. Her strong Republican vote, not less than her numerical importance, entitles her to a representative in the cabinet." After a careful "balancing of matters," as he called it, he concluded to appoint Simon Cameron as the Pennsylvania cabinet

member, and on December 31 he gave Cameron, who had been for three days in Springfield discussing the situation, the following letter:

"Hon. Simon Cameron.

"*My dear Sir*: I think fit to notify you now that, by your permission, I shall at the proper time nominate you to the United States Senate for confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury, or as Secretary of War—which of the two I have not yet definitely decided. Please answer at your earliest convenience. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln."

Cameron had scarcely reached home with his letter before those opposed to him in Pennsylvania had frightened Lincoln into believing that the lack of trust in Cameron's political honesty which existed throughout the country would destroy faith in the new cabinet. Lincoln immediately wrote Cameron that things had developed which made it impossible to take him into the cabinet. Later he assured Cameron that the withdrawal did not spring from any change of view as to the ability or faithfulness with which he would discharge the duties of the place, and he promised not to make a cabinet appointment for Pennsylvania without consulting him and giving all the weight he consistently could to his views and wishes. There the matter remained until March.

Among conciliatory Republicans there was a strong desire that Lincoln find a member of his cabinet in the South. It was believed that such an act would be taken as proof that the New President intended to consider the claims of the South. Lincoln

did not believe the idea practical, and he showed the difficulties in the way very shrewdly by causing to be inserted, on December 12, in the "Illinois Journal," a paper popularly called his "organ," the following short editorial:

"We hear such frequent allusions to a supposed purpose on the part of Mr. Lincoln to call into his cabinet two or three Southern gentlemen from the parties opposed to him politically, that we are prompted to ask a few questions.

"First. Is it known that any such gentlemen of character would accept a place in the cabinet?

"Second. If yea, on what terms does he surrender to Mr. Lincoln, or Mr. Lincoln to him, on the political differences between them; or do they enter upon the administration in open opposition to each other?"

The demand continued, however. Weed told Lincoln in December that, in his opinion, at least two of the members of the cabinet should be from the South. Lincoln was doubtful if they could be trusted. "There are men in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee," replied Weed, "for whose loyalty under any circumstances, and in any event, I would vouch."

"Well," said Lincoln, "let me have the names of your white blackbirds." Weed gave him four names. Mr. Seward, a little later, suggested several, and Mr. Greeley likewise sent him a list of five Southerners whom he declared it would be safe to take into the official family. Of all those named, Lincoln preferred John A. Gilmer, of North Carolina, and he invited him to come to Springfield for an interview. As late as January 12, he wrote to Seward:

"I still hope Mr. Gilmer will, on a fair understanding with us, consent to take a place in the cabinet. . . . I fear, if we could get, we could not safely take more than one such man—that is, not more than one who opposed us in the election, the danger being to lose the confidence of our own friends."

Mr. Gilmer did not accept Mr. Lincoln's invitation to Springfield, however, and nothing ever came of the overture made him. The nearest approach Lincoln made to selecting a cabinet member from the South was in the appointment of Edward Bates, of Missouri. He was one of the men whom Lincoln had decided upon as soon as he knew of his election, and he was the first after Seward to be notified. A representative from Indiana was desirable, and Caleb Smith was put on the slate provisionally. It was necessary, too, that New England have a place in the cabinet. Mr. Lincoln had three candidates, of all of whom he thought well—Tuck, of New Hampshire; Banks, of Massachusetts; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; but he made no decision until after he reached Washington.

About the middle of January, 1861, Lincoln began to prepare his inaugural address. A more desperate situation than existed at that moment it would be hard to imagine. Thus far every peace measure had failed, and the endless discussions of press and senate chamber were daily increasing the anger and the bewilderment of the people. Four states had left the Union, and the South was rapidly accepting the idea of separate nationality. The North was desperate and helpless. All the bitterness and confusion centred about Lincoln. A hundred things told him how

serious was the situation; the averted faces of his townsmen of Southern sympathies, the warnings of good men who sought him from North, and South, letters threatening him with death, sketches of gibbets and stilettos in every mail.

But in spite of all these distracting circumstances, when he thought it time to write the inaugural address, he calmly locked himself up in an upper room over a store, across the street from the State House, where he had his office, and there, with no books but a copy of the "Constitution," Henry Clay's "Speech of 1850," Jackson's "Proclamation against Nullification," and Webster's "Reply to Hayne," he prepared the document. Wishing to have several copies of it, he went to the general manager of the Illinois "State Journal," Major Wm. H. Bailhache, to arrange for them. Major Bailhache prepared for this work the following statement of the incident:

"In relation to the printing of the draft of his first inaugural address, my recollection is very clear that his manner was as free from formality and affectation as it would have been had he been ordering the printing of a legal document. He merely asked me, one day early in January, 1861, if I could print his address in a certain style without its contents becoming known, and upon being assured that I could do so, he remarked that he would give me the manuscript in a few days. Not long after this, he placed the momentous paper in my hands. I had the work done at once, under my personal supervision, in a private room in the 'Journal' building, by a trusted employé, sworn to secrecy. When it was finished, I returned the manuscript to Mr. Lincoln, together with the twenty printed copies ordered, one of which he himself gave to me, and it has been retained in

my possession ever since. I may remark in passing, that the manuscript was all in his own handwriting and was almost entirely free from alterations or interlineations. He did not ask to see a proof, reposing entire confidence in my careful supervision. Neither the original draft nor the printed sheets were ever out of my immediate custody for an instant during the time occupied in the printing, and I doubt whether any of the score or more of 'typos' employed in the 'Journal' office had even the slightest suspicion that this important state paper was then being put in type under the same roof with them. Be this as it may, the secret was well kept, although the newspapers employed every conceivable means to obtain a hint of its tenor, and the whole country was in a state of feverish anxiety to learn what the policy of the new President was to be."

Although Lincoln met the appalling events which preceded his inauguration with an outward calm which led many people to say that he did not realize the seriousness of the situation, he was keenly alive to the dangers of the country and to the difficulty of his own position. So full of threats and alarms had his life become by the time of his election that his sleep was troubled by strange dreams, and once at least he was the victim of an hallucination which he afterwards described to different friends, among them Noah Brooks, who tells the story in Lincoln's own words:

"It was just after my election in 1860, when the news had been coming in thick and fast all day and there had been a great 'hurrah boys,' so that I was well tired out and went home to rest, throwing myself down on a lounge in my chamber. Opposite where I lay was a bureau with a swinging glass upon it (and here he got up and placed furniture to

illustrate the position), and looking in that glass, I saw myself reflected nearly at full length; but my face, I noticed, had *two* separate and distinct images, the tip of the nose of one being about three inches from the tip of the other. I was a little bothered, perhaps startled, and got up and looked in the glass, but the illusion vanished. On lying down again, I saw it a second time, plainer, if possible, than before; and then I noticed that one of the faces was a little paler—say, five shades—than the other. I got up, and the thing melted away, and I went off, and in the excitement of the hour forgot all about it—nearly, but not quite, for the thing would once in a while come up and give me a little pang, as if something uncomfortable had happened. When I went home again that night, I told my wife about it, and a few days afterward I made the experiment again, when (with a laugh), sure enough! the thing came again; but I never succeeded in bringing the ghost back after that, though I once tried very industriously to show it to my wife, who was somewhat worried about it. She thought it was a 'sign' that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the last term."

Of far deeper significance than this touch of superstition is a look into the man's heart which Judge Gillespie, a life-long friend of Lincoln, left, and which his daughter, Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett, of Edwardsville, Illinois, kindly put at my service. Early in January, Judge Gillespie was in Springfield and spent the night at Mr. Lincoln's home. It was late before the President-elect was free, and then the two men seated themselves by the fire for a talk.

"I attempted," says Judge Gillespie, "to draw him into conversation relating to the past, hoping to divert him from the thoughts which were evidently distracting him. 'Yes,

yes, I remember,' he would say to my references to old scenes and associations; but the old-time zest was not only lacking, but in its place was a gloom and despondency entirely foreign to Lincoln's character as I had learned to know it. I attributed much of this to his changed surroundings. He sat with his head lying upon his arms, which were folded over the back of his chair, as I had often seen him sit on our travels after an exciting day in court. Suddenly he roused himself. 'Gillespie,' said he, 'I would willingly take out of my life a period of years equal to the two months which intervene between now and my inauguration to take the oath of office now.' 'Why?' I asked. 'Because every hour adds to the difficulties I am called upon to meet, and the present administration does nothing to check the tendency toward dissolution. I, who have been called to meet this awful responsibility, am compelled to remain here, doing nothing to avert it or lessen its force when it comes to me.'

"I said that the condition of which he spoke was such as had never risen before, and that it might lead to the amendment of such an obvious defect in the federal Constitution. 'It is not of myself I complain,' he said, with more bitterness than I ever heard him speak, before or after. 'But every day adds to the difficulty of the situation and makes the outlook more gloomy. Secession is being fostered rather than repressed, and if the doctrine meets with a general acceptance in the border States, it will be a great blow to the government.'

"Our talk then turned upon the possibility of avoiding a war. 'It is only possible,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'upon the consent of this government to the erection of a foreign slave government out of the present slave states. I see the duty devolving upon me. I have read, upon my knees, the story of Gethsemane, where the Son of God prayed in vain that the cup of bitterness might pass from him. I am in the garden of Gethsemane now, and my cup of bitterness is full and overflowing.'

"I then told him that as Christ's prayer was not answered and his crucifixion had redeemed the great part of the world from paganism to Christianity, so the sacrifice demanded of him might be a great beneficence. Little did I then think how prophetic were my words to be, or what a great sacrifice he was called to make.

"I trust and believe that that night, before I let him go, I shed some rays of sunlight into that troubled heart. Ere long he came to talk of scenes and incidents in which he had taken part and to laugh over my reminders of some of our professional experiences. When I retired, it was the master of the house and chosen ruler of the country who saw me to my room. 'Joe,' he said, as he was about to leave me, 'I suppose you will never forget that trial down in Montgomery County, where the lawyer associated with you gave away the whole case in his opening speech. I saw you signaling to him, but you couldn't stop him. Now, that's just the way with me and Buchanan. He is giving away the case, and I have nothing to say and can't stop him. Good-night.' "

But the time for going to Washington was drawing near. There had been considerable discussion about when he had better go. So many threats had been made and so many rumors were in the air that the party leaders had begun to feel, as early as December, that the President-elect might never get to Washington alive. Even Seward, optimist as he was, felt that precautions had better be taken, and he wrote Lincoln, from Washington, on December 28:

"There is a feverish excitement here which awakens all kinds of apprehensions of popular disturbance and disorders, connected with your assumption of the government.

"I do not entertain these apprehensions myself. But it is worth consideration, in our peculiar circumstances, that

accidents themselves may aggravate opinion here. Habit has accustomed the public to anticipate the arrival of the President-elect in this city about the middle of February; and evil-minded persons would expect to organize the demonstrations for that time. I beg leave to suggest whether it would not be well for you, keeping your own counsel, to be prepared to drop into the city a week or ten days earlier. The effect would be, probably, reassuring and soothing."

Mr. Lincoln replied:

"I have been considering your suggestions as to my reaching Washington somewhat earlier than is usual. It seems to me the inauguration is not the most dangerous point for us. Our adversaries have us now clearly at disadvantage. On the second Wednesday of February, when the votes should be officially counted, if the two Houses refuse to meet at all, or meet without a quorum of each, where shall we be? I do not think that this counting is constitutionally essential to the election; but how are we to proceed in absence of it?

"In view of this, I think it best for me not to attempt appearing in Washington till the result of that ceremony is known."

The peace of the capital was, however, in good hands. General Scott, the general in command of the army, had, even before the election, seen the trouble coming and had pleaded with the administration to dispose of the United States forces in such a way as to protect threatened property. Early in January, he succeeded in securing a guard for Washington. The fear that the electoral vote would never be counted partially subsided then, and Lincoln announced that he would leave Springfield on February 11.

THE CONVENT SCHOOL
ST. JAMES, MINNESOTA

The fortnight before his departure he gave to settling up his private business and saying good-by to his old friends. His stepmother was still living near Charleston, in Coles County, and thither he went to spend a day with her and to visit his father's grave. The comfort and happiness of his stepmother had been one of his cares from the time he began to be self-supporting, and in this farewell visit he assured himself that her future was provided for. Mrs. Lincoln, who was now a very old woman and might naturally doubt whether she would live to see her son again, was not concerned about herself at this time. The threats which pursued Lincoln had reached her, and in bidding him good-by, she sobbed out her belief that she would never see him again; that his life would be taken. This same fear was expressed by many of Lincoln's early friends who came to Springfield to say good-by to him.

In the multitude of partings which took place in these last days none was more characteristic than that with his law partner, Herndon. The day before his departure, Mr. Lincoln went to the office to settle some unfinished business.

"After those things were all disposed of," writes Mr. Herndon, "he crossed to the oposite side of the room and threw himself down on the old office sofa, which, after many years of service, had been moved against the wall for support. He lay for some moments, his face towards the ceiling, without either of us speaking. Presently he inquired, 'Billy'—he always called me by that name—'how long have we been together?' 'Over sixteen years,' I answered. 'We've never had a cross word during all that time, have we?' . . . He gathered a bundle of papers and books he wished to take

SARAH BUSH LINCOLN.

From a photograph in possession of her granddaughter, Mrs. Harriet Chapman of Charleston, Ill. Sarah Bush was born in Kentucky, December 13, 1788. She was a friend of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, and it is said that Thomas Lincoln had been her suitor before she married Daniel Johnston. Her husband died in October, 1818. In November, 1819, Thomas Lincoln sought her a second time in marriage. She was in debt, and the fact caused her to hesitate; but her suitor redeemed all her paper, and presented it to her with renewed protestations of affection. He was convinced that a woman with her honor about debts would make him a good wife. There is no question that as Thomas Lincoln's wife she exerted a remarkable influence upon his household, and with her dignity and kindliness played a large part in the development of her step-son, Abraham. She died on the 10th of December, 1869, at the old homestead in Coles County, Illinois.

with him and started to go; but before leaving he made the strange request that the sign-board which swung on its rusty hinges at the foot of the stairway should remain. 'Let it hang there undisturbed,' he said, with a significant lowering of the voice. 'Give our clients to understand that the election of a president makes no change in the firm of Lincoln & Herndon. If I live, I am coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had happened.' He lingered for a moment, as if to take a last look at the old quarters, and then passed through the door into the narrow hallway."

Herndon says that he never saw Lincoln more cheerful than on that day, and Judge Gillespie, who visited him a few days earlier, found him in excellent spirits. "I told him that I believed it would do him good to get down to Washington." "I know it will," he replied. "I only wish I could have got there to lock the door before the horse was stolen. But when I get to the spot, I can find the tracks."

Mr. Lincoln and his party were to leave Springfield by a special train at eight o'clock on Monday morning, February 11. And at precisely five minutes before eight o'clock, he was summoned from the dingy waiting-room of the station. Slowly working his way through the crowd of friends and townspeople that had gathered to bid him good-by, he mounted the platform of the car and, turning, stood looking down into the multitude of sad, friendly upturned faces. For a moment a strong emotion shook him; then, removing his hat and lifting his hand to command silence, he spoke:

"My friends, no one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place and

the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell." *

A sob went through the listening crowd as Mr. Lincoln's broken voice asked their prayers, and a choked exclamation, "We will do it! We will do it!" rose as he ceased to speak. Upon all who listened to him that morning his words produced a deep impression. "I was only a lad of fourteen," Mr. Lincoln Dubois, of Springfield, told the writer, "but to this day I can recall almost the exact language of that speech." "We have known Mr. Lincoln for many years," wrote the editor of the "State Journal." "We have heard him speak upon a hundred different occasions; but we never saw him so profoundly affected, nor did he ever utter an address which seemed to us so full of simple and touching eloquence, so exactly adapted to the occasion, so worthy of the man and the hour. Although it was raining hard when he began to speak, every hat was lifted and every head bent forward to catch the last words of the departing chief. When he said, with the earnestness of a sudden in-

* The version of the farewell speech here used is that given by Nicolay and Hay in their "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln."

spiration of feeling, that *with God's help he should not fail,* there was an uncontrollable burst of applause."

The speech was of course telegraphed over the country, and though politicians sneered at it, the people were touched. He had appealed to one of their deepest convictions, the belief in a Providence whose help was given to those who sought it in prayer. The new President, they said to one another, was not only a man who had struggled with life like common people; he was a man who believed, as they did, in God, and was not ashamed to ask the prayers of good men.

The journey eastward through Illinois, which now began, was full of incident. No better description of it was ever given than that of Thomas Ross, a brakeman on the presidential train.

"The enthusiasm all long the line was intense. As we whirled through the country villages, we caught a cheer from the people and a glimpse of waving handkerchiefs and of hats tossed high into the air. Wherever we stopped there was a great rush to shake hands with Mr. Lincoln, though of course only a few could reach him. The crowds looked as if they included the whole population. There were women and children, there were young men, and there were old men with gray beards. It was soul-stirring to see these white-whiskered old fellows, many of whom had known Lincoln in his humbler days, join in the cheering, and hear them shout after him, 'Good-by, Abe. Stick to the Constitution, and we will stick to you.' It was my good fortune to stand beside Lincoln at each place at which he spoke—at Decatur, Tolono, and Danville. At the state line the train stopped for dinner. There was such a crowd that Lincoln could scarcely reach the dining-room. 'Gentlemen,' said he, as he surveyed the crowd, 'if you will make me a little path, so

that I can get through and get something to eat, I will make you a speech when I get back.'

"I never knew where all the people came from. They were not only in the towns and villages, but many were along the track in the country, just to get a glimpse of the President's train. I remember that, after passing Bement, we crossed a trestle, and I was greatly interested to see a man standing there with a shot-gun. As the train passed he presented arms. I have often thought he was there, a volunteer, to watch the trestle and to see that the President's train got over it in safety. As I have said, the people everywhere were wild. Everybody wanted to shake hands with Lincoln, and he would have to say: 'My friends, I would like to shake hands with all of you, but I can't do it.' At Danville I well remember seeing him thrust his long arm over several heads to shake hands with George Lawrence. Walter Whitney, the conductor, who went on to Indianapolis, told me when he got back that, after Lincoln got into a carriage, men got hold of the hubs and carried the vehicle for a whole block. At the state line, I left the train and returned to Springfield, having passed the biggest day in my whole life."

It was nearly five o'clock in the afternoon before the party reached Indianapolis, where they were to spend the night. An elaborate reception had been prepared, and here Mr. Lincoln made his first speech. It was not long, but it contained a paragraph of vital importance. The discussion over the right of the government to coerce the South was at its height. Lincoln had never publicly expressed himself on this point. In the Indianapolis speech he said:

"The words 'coercion' and 'invasion' are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get exact defini-

tions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of words. What, then, is 'coercion'? What is 'invasion'? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be 'invasion'? I certainly think it would; and it would be 'coercion' also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion'? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for them to swallow. In their view the Union as a family relation would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of 'free-love' arrangement, to be maintained only on 'passional attractions.'"

The speech was warmly applauded by the Republican press. It was the sign they had been seeking from Mr. Lincoln. But to the advocates of compromise it was a bitter message. "The bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois have at length tolled forth the signal for massacre and bloodshed by the incoming administration," said the New York "Herald."

A long public reception in the evening, a breakfast the next morning with the Governor of the state, another reception at the hotel, and then, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th, Mr. Lincoln's party left Indianapolis for Cincinnati. Several of the friends

who had come from Springfield left Mr. Lincoln at Indianapolis, but others joined him, and the train was as full of life and interest as it had been the day before. There was, too, the same succession of decorated, cheering towns; the same eager desire to see and hear the President at every station. At Cincinnati, where the second night was spent and a magnificent reception was given him, Lincoln made two brief addresses. In that to the Mayor and citizens he was particularly happy:

"I have spoken but once before this in Cincinnati," he said. "That was a year previous to the late presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we as Republicans would ultimately beat them as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the presidency than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as ever I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to recall their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said, 'When we do as we say—beat you—you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you, so far as degenerate men—if we have degenerated—may, according to the examples of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is

no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.'

"Fellow-citizens of Kentucky!—friends!—brethren! may I call you in my new position? I see no occasion and feel no inclination, to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine."

These conciliatory remarks were received with great enthusiasm, the crowd rushing at him as soon as he had finished, patting him on the back, and almost wrenching his arms off in their efforts at showing their approval.

On Wednesday morning, Mr. Lincoln left Cincinnati for Columbus. Although few stops were made, he was kept busy receiving the committees and politicians who boarded the train here and there, and who were indefatigable in their efforts to draw from him some expression of his views. Mr. Lincoln felt that to answer their questions would be the gravest indiscretion, and he resorted to stories and jests in his efforts not to commit himself or offend his visitors. The reports of his "levity," as more than one felt this practice to be, were telegraphed over the country and bitterly commented upon by a large part of the press. So far, however, as the stories Mr. Lincoln told on his journey have come to us, they contain quite as much political wisdom as a sober dissertation could have contained. Thus there was a great deal of discussion *en route* about the possibility of reconciling the Northern and Southern Democrats. Mr. Lincoln was appealed to. "Well," he said, "I once knew a good sound churchman called Brown,

who was on a committee to erect a bridge over a very dangerous and rapid river. Several engineers had failed, and at last Brown said he had a friend Jones, who, he believed, could build the bridge. Jones was accordingly summoned. 'Can you build this bridge?' asked the committee. 'Yes,' replied Jones, 'I could build a bridge to the infernal regions if necessary.' The committee was horrified; but after Jones had retired, Brown said thoughtfully, 'I know Jones so well, and he is so honest a man and so good a builder, that if he says he can build a bridge to Hades, why, I believe it; but I have my doubts about the abutments on the infernal side.' So," said Lincoln, "when politicians say they can harmonize the Northern and Southern wings of the Democracy, why, I believe them, but I have my doubts about the abutments on the Southern side."

At Columbus, the brilliant receptions of Indianapolis and Cincinnati were repeated, and here Mr. Lincoln addressed briefly the State Legislature. One clause of his remarks proved to be most unfortunate:

"Allusion has been made to the interest felt in relation to the policy of the new administration. In this I have received from some a degree of credit for having kept silence, and from others some depreciation. I still think that I was right. . . .

"In the varying and repeatedly shifting scenes of the present, and without a precedent which could enable me to judge by the past, it has seemed fitting that, before speaking upon the difficulties of the country, I should have gained a view of the whole field, being at liberty to modify and change the course of policy as future events may make a change necessary.

"I have not maintained silence from any want of real anxiety. It is a good thing that there is no more than anxiety, for there is nothing going wrong. It is a consoling circumstance that when we look out there is nothing that really hurts anybody. We entertain different views upon political questions, but nobody is suffering anything. This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it we may conclude that all we want is time, patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken this people."

A hostile press took the phrases "there is nothing going wrong"—"there is nothing that really hurts anybody"—"nobody is suffering anything," and used them apart from the context, to prove that the President-elect did not grasp the situation. At Newark, New Jersey, a week later, just before the presidential party passed through, a poster appeared in the town quoting these sentences and calling on the unemployed to meet at the station when Mr. Lincoln's train arrived and show the President that "they emphatically differed from these sentiments." Nothing came of this attempt to create a disturbance.

On Thursday morning, February 14, the presidential party was again *en route,* this time bound for Pittsburgh. Lincoln must have made this journey with a lighter heart than that of the day before, for the danger that the counting of the electoral vote would be interfered with was now over. The night before at Columbus, he had received a telegram which read: "The votes have been peaceably counted. You are elected." The ceremony had passed off without incident.

At Pittsburgh, where the night of the 14th was

spent, the President spoke to an immense crowd, and as the issue in Pennsylvania had been so largely protection, it was to that doctrine that he gave his chief attention. Nothing could have pleased the Iron City better. The people were so wild with enthusiasm that it took the combined efforts of the police and militia to get the presidential party on the train and out of town.

From the hour that Lincoln's coercion remarks at Indianapolis reached the country, he had received telegraphic congratulations and remonstrances at almost every stop of the train. The remarks at Columbus produced a similar result, and he seems to have concluded at this point to make his future speeches more general. At Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany, and New York there was nothing in what he said that his enemies could fasten on. His journey from Pittsburgh eastward was in no way different from what it had been previously. There were the same crowds of people at every station, the same booming of cannon, gifts of flowers, receptions at hotels, breakfasts, dinners, and luncheons with local magnates. All along the route in the East, as in the West, the people were out; everywhere there were flags and banners and mottoes. The party in the train continued to change as it had done, committees and "leading citizens" replacing each other in rapid succession. None of these accessions aroused more interest among the other members of the party than Horace Greeley, who appeared unexpectedly at Girard, Ohio, bag and blankets in hand, and after a ride of twenty miles with Mr. Lincoln, departed.

At Buffalo, where Mr. Lincoln spoke on Saturday, the 16th, a bit of variety was infused into the celebration by the fulfilment of an election wager. The loser was to saw a cord of wood in front of the American House and present it to the poorest negro to be found. He accordingly appeared with a wagon-load of cord-wood just before Mr. Lincoln began his speech from the hotel balcony, and during the address sawed vigorously.

The journey through New York State, with the elaborate ceremonies at Albany and New York City, occupied three days, and it was not until the evening of February 21 that Lincoln reached Philadelphia. The day had been a hard one. He had left New York early, had replied to greetings at Jersey City and again at Newark, had addressed both branches of the New Jersey Legislature at Trenton and gone through a formal dinner there, and now, though it was dark and cold, he was obliged to ride in state through the streets of Philadelphia to his hotel, where hundreds of visitors soon were surging in to shake his hand. The hotel was still crowded with guests when he was summoned to the room of one of his party, Mr. Norman Judd. There he was introduced to Mr. Allan Pinkerton, who, as Mr. Judd explained, was a Chicago detective and had a story to lay before him.

"Pinkerton informed me," said Mr. Lincoln afterwards, in relating the affair to Benson J. Lossing, "that a plan had been laid for my assassination, the exact time when I expected to go through Baltimore being publicly known. He was well informed as to the plan, but did not know that

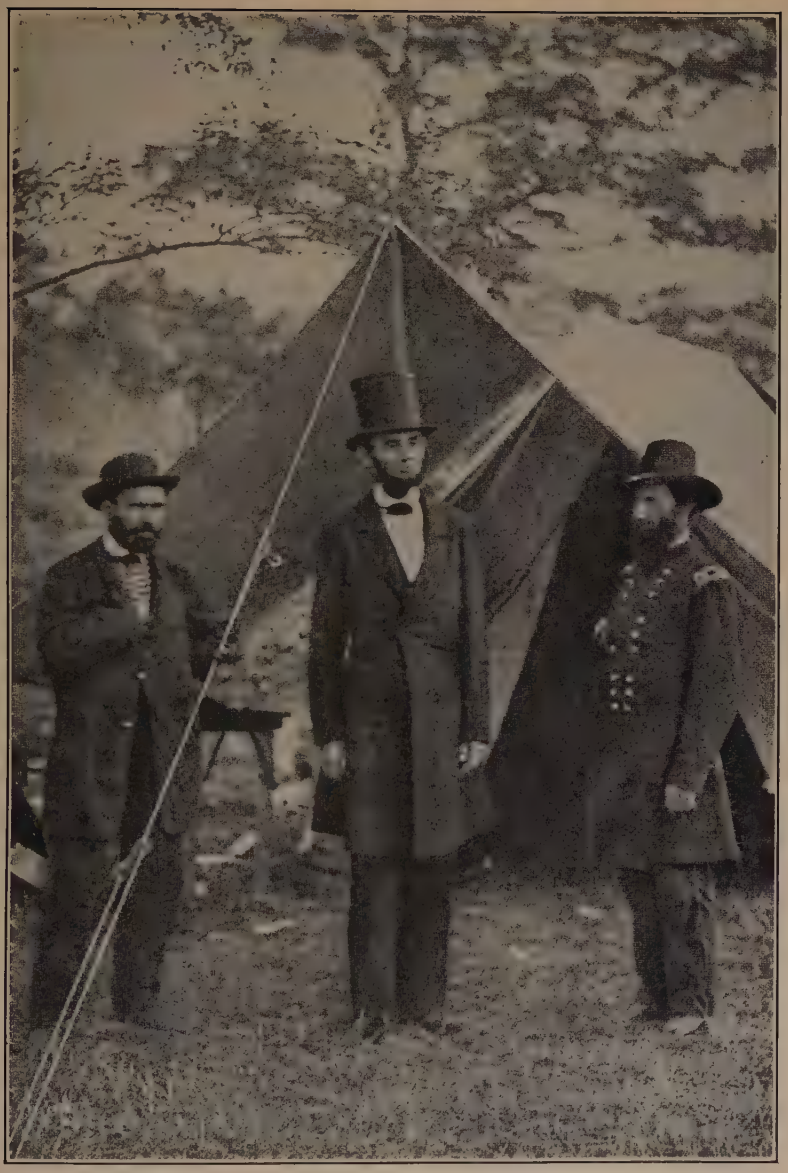
the conspirators would have pluck enough to execute it. He urged me to go right through with him to Washington that night. I did not like that. I had made engagements to visit Harrisburg, and go from there to Baltimore, and I resolved to do so. I could not believe that there was a plot to murder me. I made arrangements, however, with Mr. Judd for my return to Philadelphia the next night, if I should be convinced that there was danger in going through Baltimore. I told him that if I should meet at Harrisburg, as I had at other places, a delegation to go with me to the next place (then Baltimore), I should feel safe, and go on."

Mr. Lincoln left Mr. Pinkerton and started to his room. On the way he met Ward Lamon, also a member of his party, who introduced Frederick Seward, the son of the Senator. Mr. Seward, who relates this story in his life of his father, told Mr. Lincoln that he had a letter for him from his father. The letter informed Mr. Lincoln that General Scott and Colonel Stone, the latter the officer commanding the District of Columbia militia, had just received information which seemed to them convincing, that a plot existed in Baltimore to murder him on his way through that city. Mr. Seward besought the President to change his plan and go forward secretly.

Mr. Lincoln read the note through twice slowly and thoughtfully; then looked up, and said to Mr. Seward, "Do you know anything about the way this information was obtained?"

No, Mr. Seward knew nothing.

"Did you hear any names mentioned? Did you, for instance, ever hear anything said about such a name as Pinkerton?"



ALLAN PINKERTON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN. GENERAL JOHN A. MCCLERNAND.

In the autumn of 1862, shortly after the battle of Antietam, General McClernand, who belonged to the Army of the West, chanced to be in Washington, and was invited by President Lincoln to pay a visit to the battlefield of Antietam with him. While at General McClellan's headquarters at Antietam, the President asked where the headquarters of the Secret Service were, as he desired to visit Allan Pinkerton. Getting the information, he and General McClernand called at the Secret Service Headquarters, and while they were there, Mr. Alexander Gardner, who at that time represented Brady, of Washington, the official photographer, came along with his instruments and asked the President's permission to take a photograph of him. The President consented, and requested General McClernand and Mr. Pinkerton to stand up with him, and thus the photograph was taken which is reproduced above.

No, Mr. Seward had heard no names mentioned save those of General Scott and Colonel Stone.

"I may as well tell why I ask," said Mr. Lincoln. "There were stories and rumors some time ago, before I left home, about people who were intending to do me a mischief. I never attached much importance to them—never wanted to believe any such thing. So I never would do anything about them in the way of taking precautions and the like. Some of my friends, though, thought differently—Judd and others—and, without my knowledge, they employed a detective to look into the matter. It seems he has occasionally reported what he found; and only to-day, since we arrived at this house, he brought this story, or something similar to it, about an attempt on my life in the confusion and hurly-burly of the reception at Baltimore."

"Surely, Mr. Lincoln," said Mr. Seward, "that is a strong corroboration of the news I bring you."

He smiled and shook his head. "That is exactly why I was asking you about names. If different persons, not knowing of each other's work, have been pursuing separate clews that led to the same result, why, then, it shows there must be something in it. But if this is only the same story, filtered through two channels and reaching me in two ways, then that don't make it any stronger. Don't you see?"

After a little further discussion of the subject, Mr. Lincoln rose and said: "Well, we haven't got to decide it to-night, anyway, and I see it is getting late. You need not think I will not consider it well. I

shall think it over carefully and try to decide it right; and I will let you know in the morning."

The next day was Washington's birthday. The hauling down of the Stars and Stripes in the South and the substituting of state flags had stirred the North deeply. The day the first Palmetto Flag was raised in South Carolina, a new reverence for the national emblem was born in the North. The flag began to appear at every window, in every buttonhole. On January 29 Kansas was admitted into the Union, without slavery, thus adding a new star to the thirty-three then in the field; and for raising the new flag thus made necessary, Washington's birthday became almost a universal choice. In Philadelphia it was arranged that the new flag for Independence Hall be raised by Mr. Lincoln. The ceremony took place at seven o'clock in the morning. Mr. Lincoln's brief speech was one of the best received of the journey:

"I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to our distracted country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration. I have pondered over the toils that were

endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not use force, unless force is used against it.

"My friends, this is wholly an unprepared speech. I did not expect to be called on to say a word when I came here. I supposed I was merely to do something toward raising a flag. I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. [Cries of "No, no."] But I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by."

It was after returning from the flag-raising at Philadelphia that Lincoln told his friends that he had decided to go on to Washington at whatever time they thought best after his only remaining engagement was filled; viz., to meet and address the Pennsyl-

vania Legislature at Harrisburg that afternoon. The engagement was carried out, and late in the afternoon he was free. It had been arranged that he leave Harrisburg secretly at six o'clock in the evening with Colonel Lamon, the rest of his party to know nothing of his departure. But Mr. Lincoln did not like to go without at least informing his companions, and asked that they be called. "I reckon they'll laugh at us, Judd," he said, "but you had better get them together." Several of the party, when told of the project, opposed it violently, arguing that it would expose Mr. Lincoln to ridicule and to the charge of cowardice. He, however, answered that unless there was something besides ridicule to fear, he was disposed to carry out Mr. Judd's plan.

At six o'clock he left his hotel by a back door, bareheaded, a soft hat in his pocket and, entering a carriage, was driven to the station, where a car and engine, unlighted save for a headlight, awaited him. A few minutes after eleven o'clock, he was in Philadelphia, where the night train for Washington was being held by order of the president of the road for an "important package." This package was delivered to the conductor as soon as it was known that Mr. Lincoln was on the train. At six o'clock the next morning, after an undisturbed night, he was in Washington, where Mr. Washburne and Mr. Seward met him, and, with devout thanksgiving, conducted him to Willard's Hotel, there to remain until after the inauguration.

There were still nine days before the inauguration, and nine busier days Mr. Lincoln had not spent since

his election. He was obliged to make visits to President Buchanan, Congress and the Supreme Court, and under Mr. Seward's guidance this was done at once. He received, too, great numbers of visitors, including many delegations and committees. The Hon. James Harlan, of Iowa, at that time United States Senator, called on Mr. Lincoln on February 23, the day of his arrival. "He was overwhelmed with callers," says Mr. Harlan. "The room in which he stood, the corridors and halls and stairs leading to it, were crowded full of people, each one, apparently, intent on obtaining an opportunity to say a few words to him *privately*."

It was in these few days before his inauguration that the great fight over the future Cabinet was made. As we have seen, Lincoln had made his selections, subject to events, before he left Springfield. When he reached Washington he sought counsel on his proposed appointments from great numbers of the leading men of the country. If they did not come to him, he went to them. Thus ex-Senator Harlan, in an unpublished manuscript, "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," tells how the President-elect sounded him on the Cabinet. "A page came to me at my desk in the Senate Chamber," writes Mr. Harlan, "and said, 'The President-elect is in the President's room and wishes to see you.' I confess that I felt a little flurried by this announcement. I had not been accustomed to being called in by Presidents of the United States; hence, to gain a little time for self-composure, I said to the little page, 'How do you know that the President-elect wishes to see me?' 'Oh,' said he, 'his

messenger came to the door of the Senate Chamber, and sent me to tell you.' 'All right,' said I. 'You may tell the President's messenger that I will call immediately,' which, of course, I did without the least delay.

"I was received by the President in person, who, after the ordinary greetings, offered me a seat and seated himself near me. No one else was in the room. He commenced the conversation, saying in a half-playful, half-serious tone and manner, 'I sent for you to tell me whom to appoint as members of my Cabinet.' I responded, saying, 'Mr. President, as that duty, under the Constitution, devolves, in the first instance, on the President, I have not given to the subject a serious thought; I have no names to suggest and expect to be satisfied with your selections.' He then said he had about concluded to nominate William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State; Edward Bates, of Missouri, for Attorney-General; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, for Secretary of the Interior; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, for Secretary of the Navy; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, for Postmaster-General; and that he thought he ought to appoint Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, for the remaining two places, but was in doubt which one to offer Mr. Cameron and would like to have me express my opinion frankly on the point.

"'Well,' said I, 'Mr. President, if that is the only question involved, I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Chase ought to be made Secretary of the Treasury,' and then I proceeded to mention, without hesita-

tion or reserve, my reasons for this opinion. He thanked me cordially for my frankness. I took my leave. This interview lasted probably about ten or fifteen minutes."

Not all of those with whom Mr. Lincoln talked about his Cabinet professed, like Senator Harlan, to be satisfied with his selections. Radical Republicans, mistrusting Seward's spirit of compromise, besought him to take Chase and drop Seward altogether. Conservatives, on the contrary, fearing Chase's implacable "no compromise" spirit, urged Lincoln to omit him from the Cabinet. Seward finally, on March 2, probably thinking to force Lincoln's hand, withdrew his consent to take an appointment. He said later that he feared a "compound Cabinet" and did not wish to "hazard" himself in the experiment. This action brought no immediate reply from Mr. Lincoln. He simply left Seward's name where he had placed it at the head of the slate. The struggle over Cameron's appointment, which had been going on for more than two months, now culminated in a desperate encounter. The appointment of Blair was hotly contested. Caleb Smith's seat was disputed by Schuyler Colfax. In short it was a day-and-night battle of the factions of the Republican Party, which raged around Lincoln from the hour he appeared in Washington until the hour of his inauguration.

In spite of all the arguments and threats from excited and earnest men to which he listened candidly and patiently, Lincoln found himself, on the eve of his inauguration, with the Cabinet which he had

selected four months before unchanged. This fact, had it been known, might have modified somewhat the opinion expressed generally at the time, that the new President would never be anything but the tool of Chase or Seward, or of whomsoever proved to be the strong man of his Cabinet—that is, if he was ever inaugurated. Of this last many had doubts, and even, at the last hour, were betting in the hotel corridors and streets of Washington that Abraham Lincoln would never be President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FIRST INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN—THE RELIEF OF FORT SUMTER—SEWARD'S AMBITION TO CONTROL THE ADMINISTRATION

Daybreak of March 4, 1861, found the city of Washington astir. The Senate, which had met at seven o'clock the night before, was still in session; scores of persons who had come to see the inauguration of the first Republican President, and who had been unable to find other bed than the floor, were walking the streets; the morning trains were bringing new crowds. Added to the stir of those who had not slept through the night were sounds unusual in Washington—the clatter of cavalry, the tramp of soldiers.

All this morning bustle of the city must have reached the ears of the President-elect, at his rooms in Willard's Hotel, where from an early hour he had been at work. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States had passed the Senate in the all-night session, and as it concerned the subject of his inaugural, he must incorporate a reference to it in the address. Then he had not replied to the note he had received two days before from Mr. Seward, asking to be released from his promise to accept the portfolio of state. He could wait no longer. "I can't afford," he said to Mr. Nicolay, his secretary,

"to let Seward take the first trick." And he despatched the following letter:

"*My dear Sir:* Your note of the 2d instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 A.M. to-morrow. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

At noon, Mr. Lincoln's work was interrupted. The President of the United States was announced. Mr. Buchanan had come to escort his successor to the Capitol. The route of the procession was the historic one over which almost every President since Jefferson had travelled to take his oath of office; but the scene Mr. Lincoln looked upon as his carriage rolled up the avenue was very different from that upon which one looks to-day. No great blocks lined the streets; instead, the buildings were low, and there were numerous vacant spaces. Instead of asphalt, the carriage passed over cobblestones. Nor did the present stately and beautiful approach to the Capitol exist. The west front rose abrupt and stiff from an unkept lawn. The great building itself was still uncompleted, and high above his head Mr. Lincoln could see the swinging arm of an enormous crane rising from the unfinished dome.

But, as he drove that morning from Willard's to the Capitol, the President-elect saw far more significant sights than these. Closed about his carriage,

"so thickly," complained the newspapers, "as to hide it from view," was a protecting guard. Stationed at intervals along the avenue were platoons of soldiers. At every corner were mounted orderlies. On the very roof-tops were groups of riflemen. When Lincoln reached the north side of the Capitol, where he descended to enter the building, he found a board tunnel, strongly guarded at its mouth, through which he passed into the building. If he had taken pains to inquire what means had been provided for protecting his life while in the building, he would have been told that squads of riflemen were in each wing; that under the platform from which he was to speak were fifty or sixty armed soldiers; that General Scott and two batteries of flying artillery were in adjacent streets; and that a ring of volunteers encircled the waiting crowd. The thoroughness with which these guards did their work may be judged by the experience which Colonel Clark E. Carr, of Illinois, tells:

"I was only a young man then, and this was the first inauguration I had ever attended. I came because it was Lincoln's. For three years Lincoln had been my political idol, as he had been that of many young men in the West. The first debate I heard between him and Douglas had converted me from popular sovereignty, and after that I had followed him all over the state, so fascinated was I by his logic, his manner, and his character.

"Well, I went to Washington, but somehow, in the interest of the procession, I failed to get to the Capitol in time to find a place within hearing distance; thousands of people were packed between me and the stand. I did get, however, close to the high double fence which had been built from the driveway to the north door. It suddenly occurred to me

that, if I could scale that wall, I might walk right in after the President, perhaps on to the very platform. It wasn't a minute before I 'shinned' up and jumped into the tunnel; but before I lit on my feet, a half dozen soldiers had me by the legs and arms. I suppose they thought I was the agent of the long-talked-of plot to capture Washington and kill Mr. Lincoln. They searched me, and then started me to the mouth of the tunnel, to take me to the guard-house, but the crowd was so thick we couldn't get out. This gave me time, and I finally convinced them that it was really my eagerness to hear Mr. Lincoln, and no evil intent, that had brought me in. When they finally came to that conclusion, they took me around to one of the basement doors on the east side and let me out. I got a place in front of Mr. Lincoln and heard every word."

The precautions taken against the long-threatened attack on Lincoln's life produced various impressions on the throng. Opponents scornfully insisted that the new Administration was "scared." Radical Republicans rejoiced. "I was thoroughly convinced at the time," says the Hon. James Harlan, at that time a Senator from Iowa, "that Mr. Lincoln's enemies meant what they said, and that General Scott's determination that the inauguration should go off peaceably prevented any hostile demonstration." Other supporters of Mr. Lincoln felt differently.

"Nothing could have been more ill-advised or more ostentatious," wrote the "Public Man" that night in his "Diary," "than the way in which the troops were thrust everywhere upon the public attention, even to the roofs of the houses on Pennsylvania Avenue, on which little squads of sharpshooters were absurdly stationed. I never expected to experience such a

sense of mortification and shame in my own country as I felt to-day in entering the Capitol through hedges of marines armed to the teeth. . . . Fortunately, all passed off well, but it is appalling to think of the mischief which might have been done by a single evil-disposed person to-day. A blank cartridge fired from a window on Pennsylvania Avenue might have disconcerted all our hopes and thrown the whole country into inextricable confusion. That nothing of the sort was done, or even so much as attempted, is the most conclusive evidence that could be asked of the groundlessness of the rumors and old women's tales on the strength of which General Scott has been led into this great mistake."

Arm in arm with Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln passed through the long tunnel built for his protection, entered the Capitol, and passed into the Senate Chamber, filled to overflowing with Senators, members of the diplomatic corps, and visitors. The contrast between the two men as they entered struck every observer. "Mr. Buchanan was so withered and bowed with age," wrote George W. Julian, of Indiana, who was among the spectators, "that in contrast with the towering form of Mr. Lincoln he seemed little more than half a man."

A few moments' delay, and the movement from the Senate towards the east front began, the justices of the Supreme Court, in cap and gown, heading the procession. As soon as the large company was seated on the platform projecting from the east portico of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced to the front, where he was introduced by his friend, Senator

Baker, of Oregon. He carried a cane and a little roll—the manuscript of his inaugural address. There was a moment's pause after the introduction, as he vainly looked for a spot where he might place his high silk hat. Stephen A. Douglas, the political antagonist of his whole public life, the man who had pressed him hardest in the campaign of 1860, was seated just behind him. Douglas stepped forward quickly and took the hat which Mr. Lincoln held helplessly in his hand. "If I can't be President," he whispered smilingly to Mrs. Brown, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln's and a member of the President's party, "I at least can hold his hat."

This simple act of courtesy was really the most significant incident of the day, and after the inaugural the most discussed.

"Douglas's conduct cannot be overpraised," wrote the "Public Man" in his "Diary." "I saw him for a moment in the morning, when he told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt in any one's mind of his determination to stand by the new Administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union."

Adjusting his spectacles and unrolling his manuscript, the President-elect turned his eyes upon the faces of the throng before him. It was the largest gathering that had been seen at any inauguration up to that date, variously estimated at from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand. Who of the men that composed it were his friends, who his enemies, he could not tell; but he did know that almost every

one of them was waiting with painful eagerness to hear what answer he would make there to the questions they had been hurling at his head since his election.

Six weeks before, when he wrote the document, he had determined to answer some of their questions. The first of these was, "Will Mr. Lincoln stand by the platform of the Republican Party?" He meant to open his address with a reply:

"The [more] modern custom of electing a Chief Magistrate upon a previously declared platform of principles supersedes, in a great measure, the necessity of restating those principles in an address of this sort. Upon the plainest grounds of good faith, one so elected is not at liberty to shift his position. . . .

"Having been so elected upon the Chicago platform, and while I would repeat nothing in it of aspersion or epithet or question of motive against any man or party, I hold myself bound by duty, as well as impelled by inclination, to follow, within the executive sphere, the principles therein declared. By no other course could I meet the reasonable expectations of the country."

But these paragraphs were not read. On reaching Washington in February, Mr. Lincoln's first act had been to give to Mr. Seward a copy of the paper he had prepared and to ask for his criticisms. Of the paragraphs quoted above, Mr. Seward wrote:

"I declare to you my conviction that the second and third paragraphs, even if modified as I propose in my amendments, will give such advantages to the Disunionists that Virginia and Maryland will secede, and we shall, within ninety, perhaps within sixty days, be obliged to fight the

South for this Capital, with a divided North for our reliance."

Mr. Lincoln dropped the paragraphs and began by answering another question: "Does the President intend to interfere with the property of the South?"

"Apprehension seems to exist," he said, "among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them."

He followed this conciliatory statement by a full answer to the question, "Will Mr. Lincoln repeal the fugitive slave laws?"

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

" 'No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous."

Next he took up the question of secession, "Has a state the right to go out of the Union if it wants to?"

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. . . . Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of states in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? . . . It follows from these views that no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any state or states, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances."

The answer to this question led him directly to the point on which the public was most deeply stirred at that moment. What did he intend to do about enforcing laws in states which had repudiated Federal authority; what about the property seized by the Southern States?

". . . to the extent of my ability," he answered, "I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

In his original copy of the inaugural address Mr. Lincoln wrote, "All the power at my disposal will be used to *reclaim the public property and places which have fallen;* to hold, occupy, and possess these, and all other property and places belonging to the government." At the suggestion of his friend, the Hon. O. H. Browning, of Illinois, he dropped the words "to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen." Mr. Seward disapproved of the entire quotation and prepared a noncommittal substitute. Mr. Lincoln, however, retained his own sentences.

The foregoing quotations are a fairly complete expression of what may be called Mr. Lincoln's policy at the beginning of his administration. He followed this statement of his principle by an appeal and a

warning to those who really loved the Union and who yet were ready for the "destruction of the national fabric with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes."

"Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? . . .

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. . . .

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people. . . .

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to HURRY any of you in hot

haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

"In YOUR hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in MINE is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail YOU. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. YOU have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"

With this last paragraph Mr. Lincoln had meant to close this his first address to the nation. Mr. Seward objected and submitted two suggestions for a closing; one of his paragraphs read as follows:

"I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriotic graves, pass through all the hearts and all hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation."

Mr. Lincoln made a few changes in the paragraphs quoted and rewrote the above suggestion of Mr.

While the people remain patient, and true to themselves, no man, even in the presidential chair, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

☞ My countrymen, one and all, take *time* and think *well*, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. Nothing worth preserving is either breaking or burning. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*, unless you *first* assail *it*. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it. *You* can forbear the *assault* upon it; *I* can *not* shrink from the *defense* of it. With *you*, and not with *me*, is the solemn question of "Shall it be peace, or a sword?"

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

. . . . . .

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to say more than I have, in relation to those matters of administration, about which there is no special excitement.

☞ Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and per-

FACSIMILE FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Seward, making of it the now famous closing words:*

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

"Mr. Lincoln read his inaugural," says Mr. Harlan in his "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," "in a clear, distinct, and musical voice, which seemed to be heard and distinctly understood to the very outskirts of the vast concourse of his fellow citizens. At its conclusion, he turned partially around on his left, facing the justices of the Supreme Court, and said, 'I am now ready to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution,' which was then administered by Chief Justice Taney, the President saluting the Bible with his lips.

"At that moment, in response to a signal, batteries of field guns, stationed a mile or so away, commenced firing a national salute, in honor of the nation's new chief. And Mr. Buchanan, now a private citizen, escorted President Lincoln to the Executive Mansion, followed by a multitude of people."

"What do you think of it?" was the question this crowd was asking as it left the scene of the inaugura-

* The reader interested in the first inaugural of Mr. Lincoln should not fail to read the admirable chapter on the subject in Vol. III. of Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," where Mr. Seward's criticisms are given in full.

tion. Throughout the day, on every corner of Washington, and by night on every corner of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and every other city and town of the country reached by the telegraph, men were asking the same question. If the answers showed how deep the country was mired in partisanship, how incapable the various factions were of candid judgment, each characterizing it as he would like his followers to believe it to be—they showed too that the address was not the equivocal document Mr. Seward had tried to make it.

"It is marked," said the New York "Tribune" of March 5, "by no feeble expression. 'He who runs may read' it; and to twenty millions of people it will carry the tidings, good or not, as the case may be, that the Federal Government of the United States is still in existence, with a Man at the head of it."

"The inaugural is not a crude performance," said the New York "Herald"; "it abounds in traits of craft and cunning; it is neither candid nor statesmanlike, nor does it possess any essential of dignity or patriotism. It would have caused a Washington to mourn, and would have inspired Jefferson, Madison, or Jackson with contempt."

"Our community has not been disappointed, and exhibited very little feeling on the subject," telegraphed Charleston, South Carolina. "They are content to leave Mr. Lincoln and the inaugural in the hands of Jefferson Davis and the Congress of the Confederate States."

"The Pennsylvanian" declared it "a tiger's claw concealed under the fur of Sewardism." While "The Atlas and Argus," of Albany, characterized it as "weak, rambling, loose-jointed," and as "inviting civil war."

In New Orleans the assertion that the ordinance was void and that Federal property must be taken and held was considered a declaration of war. At Montgomery, the head of the Confederacy, the universal feeling provoked by the inaugural was that war was inevitable.

The literary form of the document aroused general comment.

"The style of the address is as characteristic as its temper," said the Boston "Transcript." "It has not one fawning expression in the whole course of its firm and explicit statement. The language is level to the popular mind—the plain, homespun language of a man accustomed to talk with 'the folks' and 'the neighbors'; the language of a man of vital common sense, whose words exactly fit in his facts and thoughts."

This "homespun language" was a shock to many. The Toronto "Globe" found the address of "a tawdry, corrupt, schoolboy style." When ex-President Tyler complained to Francis Lieber of its grammar, Lieber replied:

"You complain of the bad grammar of President Lincoln's message. We have to look at other things, just now, than grammar. For aught I know, the last resolution of the South Carolina Convention may have been worded in sufficiently good grammar, but it is an attempt, unique in its disgracefulness, to whitewash an act of the dirtiest infamy. Let us leave grammar alone in these days of shame and rather ask whether people act according to the first and simplest rules of morals and of honor."

The question which most deeply stirred the country, however, was "Does Lincoln mean what he says?

Will he really use the power confided to him to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government?" The President was called upon for an answer sooner than he had expected. Almost the first thing brought to his attention on the morning of his first full day in office (March 5) was a letter from Major Robert Anderson, the officer in command of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, saying that he had but a week's provisions, and that if the place was to be re-enforced so that it could be held, it would take 20,000 "good and well-disciplined men" to do it.

A graver matter the new President could not have been called upon to decide; all the issues between North and South were at that moment focused on the fate of Fort Sumter. A series of dramatic incidents had given the fort this peculiar prominence. At the time of Mr. Lincoln's election Charleston Harbor was commanded by Major Anderson. Although there were three forts in the harbor, but one was garrisoned, Fort Moultrie, and that not the strongest in position. Not long after the election Anderson, himself a Southerner, thoroughly familiar with the feeling in Charleston, wrote the War Department that if the harbor was to be held by the United States, Fort Sumter and Castle Pinckey must be garrisoned. Later he repeated this warning. President Buchanan was loath to heed him. He feared irritating the South Carolinians. Instead of re-enforcements he sent Anderson orders to hold the forts but to do nothing which would cause a collision. At the same time he entered into a half-contract with the South Carolina

Congressmen not to re-enforce Anderson if the state did not attack him. All through the early winter Anderson remained in Moultrie, his position constantly becoming more dangerous. Interest in him increased with his peril, and the discussion as to whether the government should relieve, recall, or let him alone waxed more and more excited.

Anderson had seen from the first that if the South Carolinians attempted to seize Moultrie he could not sustain his position. Accordingly, on the night of December 26, he spiked the guns of that fort and secretly transferred his force to Sumter, an almost impregnable position in the center of the harbor. In the South the uproar over this act was terrific. The administration was accused of treachery. It in turn censured Anderson, though he had acted exactly within his orders which gave him the right to occupy whichever fort he thought best. In the North there was an outburst of exultation. It was the first act in defense of United States property, and Anderson became at once a popular hero and re-enforcements for him were vehemently demanded.

Early in January Buchanan yielded to the pressure and sent the *Star of the West* with supplies. The vessel was fired on by the South Carolinians as she entered the harbor, and retired. This hostile act did not quicken the sluggish blood of the administration. Indeed, a quasi-agreement with the Governor followed, that if the fort was not attacked no further attempt would be made to re-enforce it, and there the matter stood when Mr. Lincoln on the morning of March 5 received Anderson's letter.

What was to be done? The garrison must not be allowed to starve; but evidently 20,000 disciplined men could not be had to relieve it—the whole United States army numbered but 16,000. But if Mr. Lincoln could not relieve it, how could he surrender it? The effect of any weakening or compromise in his own position was clear to him. "When Anderson goes out of Fort Sumter," he said ruefully, "I shall have to go out of the White House." The exact way in which he looked at the matter he stated later to Congress in substantially the following words:

"To abandon that position, under the circumstances, would have been utterly ruinous; the necessity under which it was done would not have been fully understood; by many it would have been construed as a part of a voluntary policy; at home it would have discouraged the friends of the Union, emboldened its adversaries, and gone far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; in fact, it would have been our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed."

In his dilemma he sought the advice of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Scott, who told him sadly that "evacuation seemed almost inevitable."

Unwilling to decide at once, Lincoln devised a manœuvre by which he hoped to shift public attention from Fort Sumter to Fort Pickens, in Pensacola Harbor. The situation of the two forts was similar, although that at Sumter was more critical and interested the public far more intensely. It seemed to Mr. Lincoln that if Fort Pickens could be re-enforced, this would be a clear enough indication to both sec-

tions that he meant what he had said in his inaugural address, and after it had been accomplished the North would accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity, and on March 11 he sent an order that troops which had been sent to Pensacola in January by Mr. Buchanan, but never landed, should be placed in Fort Pickens.

As this order went by sea, it was necessarily some time before it arrived. Night and day during this interval Lincoln was busy in a series of original investigations of all sides of the Sumter question. While doing his utmost to obtain such information as would enable him to come to an intelligent conclusion, he was beset by both North and South. A report went out early in the month that Sumter was to be evacuated. It could not be verified; but it spread generally until there was, particularly in Washington, around Mr. Lincoln, a fever of excitement. Finally, on March 25, the Senate asked for the correspondence with Anderson. The President did not believe the time had come, however, to take the public into his confidence, and he replied:

> . . . "On examination of the correspondence thus called for, I have, with the highest respect for the Senate, come to the conclusion that at the present moment the publication of it would be inexpedient."

Three days later, March 28, while he still was uncertain whether his order had reached Fort Pickens or not, General Scott, who was ill, sent a letter over to the White House, advising Mr. Lincoln to abandon both Sumter and Pickens. Coming from such

a source, the letter was a heavy blow to the President. One of the men he most trusted had failed to recognize that the policy he had laid down in his inaugural address was serious and intended to be acted upon. It was time to do something. Summoning an officer from the Navy Department, he asked him to prepare at once a plan for a relief expedition to Fort Sumter. That night Mr. Lincoln gave his first state dinner. It was a large affair, many friends besides the members of the Cabinet being present. The conversation was animated, and Lincoln was seemingly in excellent spirits. W. H. Russell, the correspondent of the London "Times," was present, and he notes in his Diary how Lincoln used anecdotes in his conversation that evening:

"Mr. Bates was remonstrating, apparently, against the appointment of some indifferent lawyer to a place of judicial importance," says Mr. Russell. "The President interposed with, 'Come now, Bates, he's not half as bad as you think. Besides that, I must tell you he did me a good turn long ago. When I took to the law, I was going to court one morning, with some ten or twelve miles of bad road before me, and I had no horse. The judge overtook me in his wagon. "Hello, Lincoln! Are you not going to the court-house? Come in, and I'll give you a seat." Well, I got in, and the judge went on reading his papers. Presently the wagon struck a stump on one side of the road; then it hopped off to the other. I looked out, and I saw the driver was jerking from side to side in his seat; so says I, "Judge, I think your coachman has been taking a little drop too much this morning." "Well, I declare, Lincoln," said he, "I should not wonder if you are right; for he has nearly upset me half a dozen times since starting." So putting his head out of the window, he shouted, "Why, you infernal scoundrel, you

are drunk!" Upon which, pulling up his horses, and turning round with great gravity, the coachman said, "By gorra! that's the first rightful decision you have given for the last twelvemonth." While the company were laughing, the President beat a quiet retreat from the neighborhood of the Attorney General."

Lincoln's story-telling that evening was used, as often happened, to cover a serious mental struggle. After many of his guests had retired, he called his Cabinet together and agitatedly told them of General Scott's letter. He then asked them to meet him the next day. That night the President did not close his eyes in sleep. The moment had come, as it must come, at one time or another, to every President of the United States, when his vote was the only vote in the Cabinet—the only vote in the country. The decision and orders he should give the next day might plunge the country into civil war. Could he escape it? All night he went over the problem, but his watch only strengthened his purpose. When the Cabinet met, the President put the case before them in such a light that, on his asking the members to give him their views, only two, Seward and Smith, opposed the relief of Fort Sumter.

That day Lincoln gave his order that the expedition be prepared and ready to sail on April 6. Two days later, he ordered that an expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens be prepared. With the latter order he sent a verbal message to General Scott:

"Tell him that I wish this thing done, and not to let it fail unless he can show that I have refused him something he asked for."

By April 6, news reached Mr. Lincoln from Fort Pickens. The commander of the vessel on which the troops were quartered, acting upon the armistice of Mr. Buchanan, had refused to land the re-enforcements. To relieve Sumter was the only alternative, and Lincoln immediately ordered forward the expeditions he had been preparing. At the same time he wrote with his own hand instructions for an agent whom he sent to Charleston to notify the Governor of South Carolina that an effort would be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only.

At last it was evident to the members of the Cabinet and to others in the secret that Mr. Lincoln did mean what he had said in his inaugural address: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

Mr. Lincoln had another matter on hand at the moment as vital as the relief of Sumter—how to prevent further accessions to the Southern Confederacy. When he was inaugurated, seven of the slave-holding states had left the Union. In two others, Virginia and Missouri, conventions were in session considering secession; but in both Union sentiment predominated. Three others, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, had by popular vote decided to hold no convention. Maryland had already held an irregular state assembly, but nothing had been accomplished by the separatists. Mr. Lincoln's problem was how to strengthen this surviving Union sentiment sufficiently to prevent secession in case the Administration was forced to relieve Sumter. Evidently he could do

nothing at the moment but inform himself as accurately as possible, by correspondence and conferences, of the temper of the people and put himself into relations with men in each state on whom he could rely in case of emergency. He did this with care and persistency, and so effectively that later, when matters became more serious, visitors from the doubtful states often expressed their amazement at the President's knowledge of the sentiments and conditions of their parts of the country.

The first state in which Lincoln attempted any active interference in favor of the Union was one which had already voted itself out, Texas. A conflict had arisen there between the Southern party and the Governor, Sam Houston, and on March 18 the latter had been deposed. When Mr. Lincoln heard of this, he decided to try to get a message to the Governor, offering United States support if he would put himself at the head of the Union Party of the state. The messenger who carried this word to Houston was Mr. G. H. Giddings, at that time the holder of the contract for carrying the mails by the El Paso route to California. He was taken to the White House by his friend, Postmaster General Blair, and gives the following account of what occurred at the interview. It is one of the very few descriptions of Mr. Lincoln in a pre-war Cabinet meeting which we have:

"I was taken into the Cabinet room and introduced by the Postmaster General to President Lincoln and all the members of the Cabinet, who were there apparently waiting for us. The President asked me to take a seat at the big table

next to him. He then said to me, 'You have been highly recommended to me as a reliable man by the Postmaster General, the Hon. G. A. Grow, and others. They tell me that you are an old citizen of Texas and about to return to your home. My object in wishing to see you is that I desire to intrust to you a secret message to Governor Houston.'

"I said, 'Yes, Mr. President, I should have left to-night but for this invitation to call on you, which was a great pleasure to me.'

"He then asked me a great many questions, where I was born, when I went to Texas, what I had been doing there, how I liked the state, and what was the public sentiment in Texas in regard to the prospects of a war—all of which I answered to the best of my ability.

"He then said to me that the message was of such importance that, before handing it to me, he would read it to me. Before beginning to read he said, 'This is a confidential and secret message. No one besides my Cabinet and myself knows anything about it, and we are all sworn to secrecy. I am going to swear you in as one of my Cabinet.' And then he said to me in a jocular way, 'Hold up your right hand,' which I did. 'Now,' said he, 'consider yourself a member of my Cabinet.'

"He then read the message, explaining his meaning at times as he was reading it. The message was written in big bold hand, on large sheets of paper, and consisted of several pages. It was signed 'A. Lincoln.' I cannot give the exact words of the message, but the substance was as follows:

"It referred first to the surrender, by General Twiggs, of the United States troops, forts, and property in Texas to the rebels, and offered to appoint Governor Houston a major-general in the United States army in case he would accept. It authorized him to take full command in Texas, taking charge of all Government property and such of the old army as he could get together, and to recruit 100,000 men, if possible, and to hold Texas in the Union. In case he did accept

the President promised to support him with the whole power of the Government, both of the army and navy. After hearing the message read, I suggested to the President that it was of such importance that perhaps he had better send it by some government official.

"'No,' he said. 'Those Texans would hang any official caught with that paper.'

"I replied that they would hang me, too, if they caught me with that message.

"'I do not wish to have you hung,' he replied; 'and if you think there is so much danger, I will not ask you to take it, although I am anxious to get it to Governor Houston as soon as possible. As you live in Texas and are about to return, I was in hopes you would take it.'

"'I will take the message with much pleasure,' I replied, 'as you personally request it, and will deliver it safely to Governor Houston, only stipulating that it shall remain as one of your Cabinet secrets.' This he assured me should be done.

"I remained there until about midnight. The question of war or no war was discussed by different members of the Cabinet. Mr. Seward said there would be no war. The President said he hoped and prayed that there would not be a war. I said to Mr. Seward that, as he knew, Congress had extended my overland mail contract one contract term and doubled the service; that to put the increased service in operation would cost me over $50,000, which would be lost in case of war; and I asked him what I had better do.

"'There will be no war,' Mr. Seward said; 'go ahead and put on the increased service. You will run no risk in doing so.' He said that Humphrey Marshall and some others, whose names I have forgotten, had left Washington a few days before that to go into the border states and hold public meetings and ask the South to meet the North and have a National Convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution. He had no doubt, he said, that this would be done, and that, so far as he was individually con-

cerned, he would prefer giving the Southern brothers the parchment and let them enter the amendment to the Constitution to suit themselves rather than have a civil war. He said, in all probability, some arrangements would be made to pay for the slaves and the gradual abolishment of slavery."

With these momentous affairs on hand, Lincoln needed freedom from trivial and personal matters, if ever a President needed it; yet one who reads the documents of the period would infer that his entire time was spent in appointing postmasters. There was no escape for him. The office-seekers had seized Washington and were making the White House their headquarters.

"There were days," says William O. Stoddard, "when the throngs of eager applicants for office filled the broad staircase to its lower steps; the corridors of the first floor; the famous East room; the private parlors; while anxious groups and individuals paraded up and down the outer porch, the walks, and the avenue."

They even attacked Lincoln on the street. One day as his carriage rolled up the avenue, a man stopped it and attempted to present his application and credentials. "No, no," said Mr. Lincoln indignantly, "I won't open shop in the street."

This raid had begun in Springfield with the election. As Mr. Lincoln had been elected without bargains on his part, he did not propose to consider minor appointments until actually inaugurated.

"I have made up my mind," he said to a visitor a few days after his election, "not to be badgered about these places.

I have promised nothing high or low, and will not. By-and-by, when I call somebody to me in the character of an adviser, we will examine the claims to the most responsible posts and decide what shall be done. As for the rest, I shall have enough to do without reading recommendations for country postmasters."

All of the hundreds who had been put off in the winter now reappeared in Washington. Now Lincoln had clear notions of the use of the appointing power. One side should not gobble up everything, he declared; but in the pressure of applications it gave him great difficulty to prevent this "gobbling up." Another rule he had adopted was not to appoint over the heads of his advisers. He preferred to win their consent to an appointment by tact rather than to make it by his own power. A case in point is disclosed in a letter he wrote to General Scott, in June, in which he said:

"Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

"I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs Quartermaster-General, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of masculine intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance so well as he.

"I know he has great confidence in you, always sustaining, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

"You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's

objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March."

But that he could appoint arbitrarily is certain from the following letter:

. . . "You must make a job of it and provide a place for the bearer of this, Elias Wampole. Make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me, and you *must*."

In spite of the terrible pressure brought to bear upon him by the place-hunters; in spite of the frequent dissatisfaction his appointments gave, and the abuse the disappointed heaped upon him, he rarely lost his patience, rarely was anything but kind. His sense of humor aided him wonderfully in this particular. The incongruity of a man in his position, and with the very life of the country at stake, pausing to appoint postmasters, struck him forcibly. "What is the matter, Mr. Lincoln," said a friend one day, when he saw him looking particularly grave and dispirited. "Has anything gone wrong at the front?"

"No," said the President, with a tired smile. "It isn't the war; it's the post-office at Brownsville, Missouri."

The "Public Man" relates in his "Diary" the end of an interview he and a friend had with the President on March 7:

"He walked into the corridor with us and, as he bade us good-by and thanked ——— for what he had told him, he again brightened up for a moment and asked him in an

abrupt kind of way, laying his hand as he spoke with a queer but not uncivil familiarity on his shoulder, 'You haven't such a thing as a postmaster in your pocket, have you?' ——— stared at him in astonishment, and I thought a little in alarm, as if he suspected a sudden attack of insanity; then Mr. Lincoln went on: 'You see it seems to me kind of unnatural that you shouldn't have at least a postmaster in your pocket. Everybody I've seen for days past has had foreign ministers, and collectors, and all kinds, and I thought you couldn't have got in here without having at least a postmaster get into your pocket!'"

The "strange bed-fellows" politics was constantly making always amused him. One day a man turned up who had letters of recommendation from the most prominent pair of enemies in the Republican Party, Horace Greeley and Thurlow Weed. The President immediately did what he could for him:

"Mr. Adams is magnificently recommended; but the great point in his favor is that Thurlow Weed and Horace Greeley join in recommending him. I suppose the like never happened before, and never will again; so that it is now or never. What say you?"

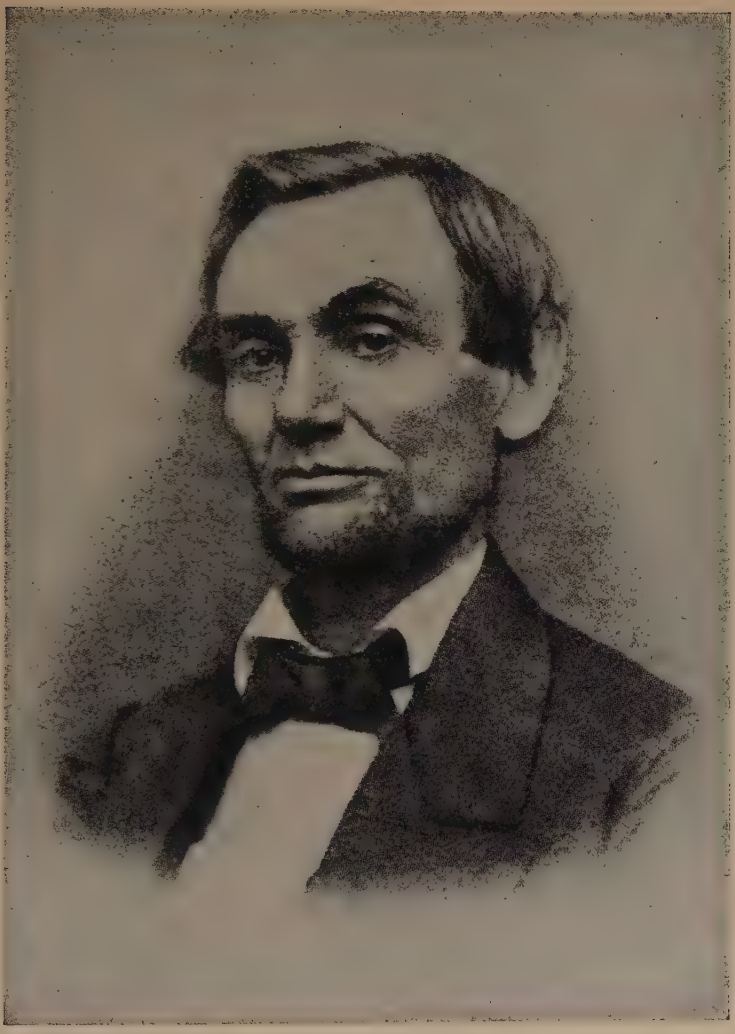
A less obvious perplexity than the office-seekers for Mr. Lincoln at this period, though a no less real one, was the attitude of his Secretary of State—his cheerful assumption that he, not Mr. Lincoln, was the final authority of the administration.

Mr. Seward had been for years the leader of the Republican Party. His defeat in the Chicago Convention of 1860 had been a terrible blow to a large number of people, though Seward himself had taken it nobly. "The Republican Party was not made for

Mr. Seward," he told his friends, "but Mr. Seward for the Republican Party," and he went heartily into the campaign. But he believed, as many Republicans did, that Lincoln was unfit for the presidency, and that some one of his associates would be obliged to assume leadership. When Mr. Seward accepted the Secretaryship of State, he evidently did it with the idea that he was to be the Providence of the administration. "It is inevitable," he wrote to his wife on December 28th, the very day he wrote to Mr. Lincoln of his acceptance. "I will try to save freedom and my country." A week later he wrote home, "I have assumed a sort of dictatorship for defense, and am laboring night and day with the cities and states. My hope, rather my confidence, is unabated." And again, on January 18th; "It seems to me if I am absent only eight days, this administration, the Congress, and the District would fall into consternation and despair. I am the only *hopeful, calm, conciliatory* person here."

When Lincoln arrived in Washington and asked Seward to read the inaugural address, the latter gave it the closest attention, modifying it to fit his own policy, and in defense of the changes he made, he wrote to the President-elect: "Only the soothing words which I have spoken have saved us and carried us along thus far. Every loyal man, and indeed every disloyal man, in the South will tell you this."

He began his duties as Secretary of State with the same confidence in his call to be the real, if not the apparent, head of affairs. When the question of relieving Sumter came up, he believed that it was he



LINCOLN EARLY IN 1861.

From a photograph in the collection of H. W. Fay, custodian of the Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Illinois, taken probably in Springfield early in 1861. It is supposed to have been the first, or at least one of the first, portraits made of Mr. Lincoln after he began to wear a beard. As is well known, his face was smooth until about the end of 1860; when he first allowed his beard to grow, it became a topic of newspaper comment, and even of caricature.

who was managing the matter. "I wish I could tell you something of the political troubles of the country," he wrote home, "but I cannot find the time. They are enough to tax the wisdom of the wisest. Fort Sumter is in danger. Relief of it practically impossible. The commissioners from the Southern Confederacy are here. These cares fall chiefly on me."

According to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, "confidence and mutual frankness on public affairs and matters pertaining to the government, particularly on what related to present and threatened disturbances, existed among all the members [of the cabinet], with the exception of Mr. Seward, who had, or affected, a certain mysterious knowledge which he was not prepared to impart." Mr. Welles asserts that Mr. Seward carried so far his assumption of the "cares" of Sumter and other questions as to meddle in the duties of his associates in the cabinet. He opposed regular cabinet meetings, and at first had his way. After Tuesdays and Fridays were set as cabinet days, he contended that it was not necessary that a member should come to the meetings unless especially summoned by Mr. Lincoln or himself.

If Mr. Seward had been less self-confident, he would have seen before the end of March that Mr. Lincoln had a mind of his own, and with it a quiet way of following its decisions. Others had seen this. For instance, he had had his own way about who should go into the cabinet. "There can be no doubt of it any longer," wrote the "Public Man" in his "Diary" on March 2, "this man from Illinois is not

in the hands of Mr. Seward." Then there was the inaugural address—it was *his,* not Mr. Seward's; and more than one prominent newspaper commented with astonishment on that fact.

Nobody knew these facts better than the Secretary of State. He had discovered also that Mr. Lincoln attended to his business. "This President proposes to do all his work," he wrote to Mrs. Seward on March 16. He had received, too, at least one severe lesson, which ought to have shown him that it was Mr. Lincoln, not he, who was casting the decisive vote in the cabinet. This was in reference to Sumter. During the period when the President was waiting to hear from Fort Pickens, commissioners from the Southern Confederacy had been in Washington. Mr. Seward had not received them, but through a trusted agent he had assured them that Sumter would be evacuated. There is no proof, so far as I know, that Mr. Lincoln knew of this quasi-promise of his Secretary of State. As we have seen, he did not decide to order an expedition prepared to relieve the fort until March 29. From what we know of the character of the man, it is inconceivable that he should have authorized Mr. Seward to promise to do a thing which he had not yet decided to do. The Secretary assumed that, because he believed in evacuation, it would follow, and he assured the Southern commissioners to that effect. Suddenly he realized that the President was not going to evacuate Sumter, that his representations to the Southerners were worthless, that he had been following a course which was bound to bring on the administration the charge of deception and

fraud. Yet all these things taught him nothing of the man he had to deal with, and on April 1 he sent Mr. Lincoln a letter in which he laid down an astounding policy—to make war on half Europe—and offered to take the reins of administration into his own hands.

SOME THOUGHTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONSIDERATION, APRIL 1, 1861

"*First.* We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign.

"*Second.* This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

"*Third.* But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country.

"*Fourth.* To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

"*Fifth.* The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

"CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DISUNION:

"In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question to one of patriotism or union.

"The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free states, and even by the Union men in the South.

"I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last administration created the necessity.

"For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and re-enforce all the ports in the Gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

"This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS

"I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

"I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia and send agents to Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

"And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

"Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

"But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

"Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

"It is not in my especial province;

"But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility."

Mr. Lincoln replied:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *April* 1, 1861.

"HON. W. H. SEWARD.

"*My dear Sir:* Since parting with you, I have been con-

sidering your paper dated this day, and entitled 'Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration.' The first proposition in it is, '*First*, We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign.'

"At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: 'The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts.' This had your distinct approval at the time; and taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

"Again, I do not perceive how the re-enforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

"The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

"Upon your closing proposition—that 'whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

" 'For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

" 'Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

" 'Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide'—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject for unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in

its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN." *

The magnanimity of this letter was only excelled by the President's treatment of the matter. He never revealed Mr. Seward's amazing proposition to any one but Mr. Nicolay, his private secretary, and it never reached the public until Nicolay and Hay published it over twenty years after the event. Mr. Lincoln's action in this matter, and his handling of the events which followed, gradually dispelled Mr. Seward's illusion. By June, the Secretary had begun to understand Mr. Lincoln. He was quick and generous to acknowledge his power. "Executive force and vigor are rare qualities," he wrote to Mrs. Seward on June 5. "The President is the best of us."

* Abraham Lincoln, a History, Vol. III. By Nicolay and Hay.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

It was on April 9, 1861, that the expedition ordered by President Lincoln for the relief of Fort Sumter sailed from New York. The day before, the Governor of South Carolina had received from the President the notification sent on the 6th that he might expect an attempt to be made to provision the fort. Ever since Mr. Lincoln's inauguration the Confederate government had been watching intently the new Administration's course. Sumter, it was resolved, should never be captured, re-enforced, even provisioned. When it was certain that an expedition had started for its relief an order to attack the fort was given, and it was bombarded until it fell.

The bombardment of Sumter began at half past four o'clock on the morning of April 12. All that day rumors and private telegrams came to the White House reporting the progress of the attack and Anderson's heroic defense, but there was nothing official. By evening, however, there was no doubt that Fort Sumter was being reduced. Mr. Lincoln was already formulating his plan of action, his one question to the excited visitors who called upon him being, "Will your state support me with military power?" The way in which the matter presented itself to his mind he stated clearly to Congress, when that body next came together:

". . . The assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reserve object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. . . .

"And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people, by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. . . .

"So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation."

This was not Mr. Lincoln's view alone. It was the view of the North. And when, on April 15, he issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 militia and appealing to all loyal citizens "to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured," there was an immediate and overwhelming response. The telegraph of the very day of the proclamation announced that in

almost every city and town of the North volunteer regiments were forming and that Union mass meetings were in sessions in halls and churches and public squares. "What portion of the 75,000 militia you call for do you give to Ohio? We will furnish the largest number you will receive," telegraphed the Governor of that state in response to the President's message. Indiana, whose quota was less than 5,000 men, telegraphed back that 10,000 were ready. "We will furnish you the regiments in thirty days if you want them, and 50,000 men if you need them," telegraphed Zachariah Chandler from Michigan. So rapidly did men come in under this call for 75,000, that in spite of the efforts of the War Department to keep the number down, it swelled to 91,816.

It was not troops alone that were offered. Banks and private individuals offered money and credit. Supplies of every sort were put at the government's order. Corporations sent their presidents to Washington, offering railroads and factories. Stephen Douglas sought Lincoln and offered all his splendid power to the Administration. Edward Everett, who had strongly sympathized with the South, declared for the movement. Individuals suspected of Southern sympathy were promptly hooted off the streets and newspapers which had been advocating disunion were forced to hang out the Stars and Stripes, or suffer a mob to raze their establishment. The fall of Sumter seemed for the moment to make a unit of the North.

Patriotic fervor was intensified by the satisfaction that at last the long tension was over. Nor was this

strange. For months the war fever had been burning in the veins of both North and South. At times compromise had seemed certain, then suddenly no one knew why it seemed as if another twenty-four hours would plunge the country into war. Many a public man on both sides had grown thin and haggard in wrestling with the terrible problem that winter and spring. Congressmen in Washington had walked the streets arguing, groaning, seeking an escape. Many a sleepless man had tossed nightly on his bed until daybreak, then rose to smoke and walk, always pursued by the same problems and never seeing any final solution but war. The struggle had penetrated the social circles, particularly in border cities like Washington, and rarely did people assemble that hot discussions did not rise. The very children in the schools took up the debates, and for many weeks in Washington the school grounds were the scenes of small daily quarrels, ending often in blows and tears. The fall of Sumter ended this exhausting uncertainty. Henceforth there was nothing to do but range yourself on one side or the other and fight it out.

But if Sumter unified the sentiment of the North, it did no less for the South. Henceforth there was but one voice in the Southern States, and that for the Confederacy. North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, all refused the President's call for troops. In Virginia a convention was in session, whose members up to that day were in the main for the Union. On April 17 that convention passed an ordinance of secession. The next day the

arsenal at Harper's Ferry was seized by the state, and the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery was informed that Virginia was open to its troops. The line of hostility had reached the very boundaries of Washington. The bluffs across the Potomac, now beautiful in the first green of spring, on which Mr. Lincoln looked every morning from his windows in the White House, were no longer in his country. They belonged to the enemy.

With the news of the secession of Virginia, there reached Washington on Thursday, April 18, a rumor that a large Confederate force was marching on the city. Now there were not over 2,500 armed men in Washington. Regiments were known to be on their way from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, but nobody could say when they would arrive. Washington might be razed to the ground before they came. A hurried effort at defense was at once made. Women and children were sent out of the city. At the White House, Mrs. Lincoln was urged to go with her boys, but she refused positively. "I am as safe as Mr. Lincoln, and I shall not leave him," was her stout answer.

Guards were stationed at every approach to the city, cannon were planted in commanding positions, while "government officials, foreign ministers, governors, senators, office-seekers" were pressed into one or the other of two impromptu organizations, the Clay Battalion of Cassius M. Clay, and the Frontier Guards of Senator Lane of Kansas. For a short time the Frontier Guards were quartered in the East Room of the White House, and Clay's Battalion at

Willard's Hotel, which had been stripped of its guests in a night.

The confusion and alarm of the city were greatly increased on Friday by news received from Baltimore. The Sixth Massachusetts, *en route* to the Capital, had reached there that day, and had been attacked as it marched through by a mob of Southern sympathizers. Four of its members had been killed and many wounded. "No troops should go through Maryland, whose purpose was to invade Virginia and coerce sister states," the people of Baltimore declared. That evening about five o'clock the regiment reached Washington. Dusty, torn, and bleeding, they marched two by two through a great crowd of silent people to the Capitol. Behind them there came, in single line, seventeen stretchers, bearing the wounded. The dead had been left behind.

Early the next day, Saturday, the 20th, a delegation of Baltimore men appeared at the White House. They had come to beg Mr. Lincoln to bring no more troops through their city. After a long discussion, he sent them away with a note to the Maryland authorities, suggesting that the troops be marched *around* Baltimore. But as he gave them the letter, Mr. Nicolay heard him say laughingly: "If I grant you this concession, that no troops shall pass through the city, you will be back here to-morrow, demanding that none shall be marched around it."

The President was right. That afternoon, and again on Sunday and Monday, committees sought him, protesting that Maryland soil should not be "polluted" by the feet of soldiers marching against

the South. The President had but one reply: "We must have troops; and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it."

While the controversy with the Baltimoreans was going on, the condition of Washington had become hourly more alarming. In 1861 there was but *one* railroad running north from Washington. At Annapolis Junction this line connected with a branch to Chesapeake Bay; at the Relay House, with the Baltimore and Ohio to the west; at Baltimore, with the only two lines then entering that city from the North, one from Harrisburg, the other from Philadelphia. On Friday, April 19, after the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts, the Maryland authorities ordered that certain of the bridges on the railroads running from Baltimore to Harrisburg and Philadelphia be destroyed. This was done to prevent any more trains bearing troops entering the city. The telegraph lines were also partially destroyed at this time. Inspired by this example, the excited Marylanders, in the course of the next two or three days, tore up much of the track running north from Washington, as well as that of the Annapolis branch, and still further damaged the telegraph. Exit from Washington to the north, east, and west by rail was now impossible. On Sunday night matters were made still worse by the complete interruption of the telegraph to the North. The last wire had been cut. All the news which reached Washington now came by way of the South, and it was all of the most disturbing nature. From twelve to fifteen thousand Confederates were reported near Alexandria, and an army

under Jefferson Davis was said to be ready to march from Richmond. The alarmed citizens, expecting hourly to be attacked, were constantly reporting that they heard cannon booming from this or that direction, or had seen scouts prowling around the outskirts of the town.

The activity of the War Department under these conditions was extraordinary. General Scott had only four or five thousand men under arms, but he proposed, if the town was attacked, to contest possession point by point, and he had every public building, including schoolhouses, barricaded. At the Capitol, barricades of cement barrels, sandbags, and iron plates such as were being used in the construction of the dome were erected ten feet high, at every entrance. In all his efforts the General was assisted by the loyal citizens. Even the men exempted from service by age formed a company called the "Silver Grays," and the soldiers of the War of 1812 offered themselves.

By Tuesday, April 23, a new terror was added to the situation—that of famine. The country around had been scoured for provisions, and supplies were getting short. If Washington was to be besieged, as it looked, what was to be done about food? The government at once ordered that the flour at the Georgetown mills, some 25,000 barrels, be seized, and sold according to the discretion of the military authorities.

In its distress it was to Mr. Lincoln that the city turned. The fiber of the man began to show at once. Bayard Taylor happened to be in Washington at the

very beginning of the alarm and called on the President. "His demeanor was thoroughly calm and collected," Taylor wrote to the New York "Tribune," "and he spoke of the present crisis with that solemn, earnest composure which is the sign of a soul not easily perturbed. I came away from his presence cheered and encouraged." However, the suspense of the days when the Capital was isolated, the expected troops not arriving, an hourly attack feared, wore on Mr. Lincoln greatly. "I begin to believe," Mr. Hay heard him say bitterly, one day, to some Massachusetts soldiers, "that there is no North. The Seventh Regiment is a myth. Rhode Island is another. You are the only real thing." And again, after pacing the floor of his deserted office for a half hour, he was heard to exclaim to himself, in an anguished tone, "Why don't they come! Why don't they come!"

The delay of the troops to arrive was, perhaps, the most mysterious and terrifying element in the situation for Mr. Lincoln. He knew that several regiments had started, and that the Seventh New York was at Annapolis, having come down Chesapeake Bay. Why they did not make a way through he could not understand. The most disquieting rumors reached him—now that an army had been raised in Maryland to oppose their advance; now that they had attempted to come up the Potomac, and were aground on Virginia soil. At last, however, the long suspense was broken. About noon, on Thursday, the 25th, the whole city was thrown into excitement by the shrill whistle of a locomotive. A great crowd gathered at the station, where the Seventh New

York was debarking. The regiment had worked its way from Annapolis to the city, building bridges and laying track as it went. Worn and dirty as the men were, they marched gaily up Pennsylvania Avenue, through the crowds of cheering, weeping people, to the White House, where Mr. Lincoln received them. The next day, 1,200 Rhode Island troops and the Butler Brigade of 1,400 arrived. Before the end of the week, there were said to be 17,000 troops in the city, and it was believed that the number could easily be increased to 40,000. Mr. Lincoln had won his first point. He had soldiers to defend the Capital.

But it was evident by this time that something more was necessary than to defend Washington. When, on April 15, Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 men for three months, he had commanded the persons disturbing the public peace "to disperse and retire peacefully to their respective abodes within twenty days from date."

In reply the South had marched on Washington, cutting it off from all communication with the North for nearly a week, and had so threatened Harper's Ferry and Norfolk that to prevent the arsenal and shipyards from falling into the hands of the enemy, the Federal commanders had destroyed both those fine government properties.

Before ten of the twenty days had passed, it was plain that the order was worthless.

"I have desired as sincerely as any man, and I sometimes think more than any other man," said the President on April 27 to a visiting military company, "that our present difficulties might be settled without the shedding of blood. I

will not say that all hope has yet gone; but if the alternative is presented whether the Union is to be broken in fragments and the liberties of the people lost, or blood be shed, you will probably make the choice with which I shall not be dissatisfied."

If not as yet quite convinced that war was coming, Mr. Lincoln saw that it was so probable that he must have an army of something beside "three months' men," for the very next day after this speech, the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, wrote to a correspondent that the President had decided to add twenty-five regiments to the regular army.

There was great need that the regular army be reenforced. At the beginning of the year it had numbered 16,367 men, but a large part of this force was in the West, and the efficiency of the whole was greatly weakened by the desertion of officers to the South, 313 of the commissioned officers, nearly one-third of the whole number, having resigned. To Mr. Lincoln's great satisfaction, this disaffection did not extend to the "common soldiers and common sailors." "To the last man, so far as is known," he said proudly, "they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law." It was on May 3 that the President issued a proclamation increasing the regulars by 22,714, and calling for three years' volunteers to the number of 42,034. But the country was not satisfied to send so few. When the War Department refused troops from states beyond the quota assigned, Governors literally begged that they be allowed to send more.

"You have no conception of the depth of feeling universal in the Northern mind for the prosecution of this war until the flag floats from every spot on which it had a right to float a year ago," wrote Galusha A. Grow, on May 5. . . . "In my judgment the enthusiasm of the hour ought not to be represented by flat refusals on the part of the government, but let them (troops offered above the quota) be held in readiness (in some way) in the States."

A meeting of the Governors of the Western and Border States was held in Cleveland, Ohio, about the time of the second call, and Mr. Randall, the Governor of Wisconsin, wrote to Lincoln on May 6:

"I must be permitted to say it, because it is a fact, there is a spirit evoked by this rebellion among the liberty-loving people of the country that is driving them to action, and if the government will not permit them to act for it, they will act for themselves. It is better for the government to direct this spirit than to let it run wild. . . . If it was absolutely certain that the 75,000 troops first called would wipe out this rebellion in three weeks from to-day, it would still be the policy of your Administration, and for the best interest of the government, in view of what ought to be the great future of this nation, to call into the field at once 300,000 men."

At the same time from Maine W. P. Fessenden wrote: "Rely upon it, you cannot at Washington fairly estimate the resolute determination existing among all classes of people in the free states to put down at once and forever this monstrous rebellion."

Under this pressure, regiment after regiment was added to the three years' volunteers. It was Mr. Lincoln's personal interference which brought in

many of these regiments. "Why cannot Colonel Small's Philadelphia regiment be received?" he wrote to the Secretary of War on May 21. "I sincerely wish it could. There is something strange about it. Give those gentlemen an interview, and take their regiment." Again on June 13 he wrote: "There is, it seems, a regiment in Massachusetts commanded by Fletcher Webster, and which the Hon. Daniel Webster's old friends very much wish to get into the service. If it can be received with the approval of your department and the consent of the Governor of Massachusetts, I shall indeed be much gratified. Give Mr. Ashmun a chance to explain fully." And again on June 17: "With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Indiana, I am in favor of accepting into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding four additional regiments from that state. Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, including my own old boyhood home."

So rapid was the increase of the army under this policy, that on July 1, the Secretary of War reported 310,000 men at his command, and added: "At the present moment the government presents the striking anomaly of being embarrassed by the generous outpouring of volunteers to support its action."

But Mr. Lincoln soon found that enrolling men does not make an army. He must uniform, arm, shelter, feed, nurse, and transport them as needed. It was in providing for the needs of the men that came so willingly into service that the Administration found its chief embarrassment. The most seri-

ous difficulty was in getting arms. Men could go ununiformed and sleep in the open air, but to fight they must have guns. The supplies of the United States arsenals in the North had been greatly depleted in the winter of 1860 and 1861 by transfers to the South, between one-fifth and one-sixth of all the muskets in the country and between one-fourth and one-fifth of all the rifles having been sent to the six seceding states. The Confederates had not only obtained a large share of government arms, but through January, February, March, April, and May they bought from private factories in the North, "under the very noses of the United States officers." This became such a scandal that the Administration had to send out an agent to investigate the trade. At the same time the Federal ministers abroad were warning Mr. Lincoln that the South was picking up all the arms Europe had to spare, and the North was buying nothing. The need of arms opened the way for inventors, and Washington was overrun with men having guns to be tested. Mr. Lincoln took the liveliest interest in these new weapons, and it sometimes happened that, when an inventor could get nobody else in the government to listen to him, the President would personally test his gun. A former clerk in the Navy Department tells an incident illustrative. He had stayed late one night at his desk, when he heard some one striding up and down the hall muttering: "I do wonder if they have gone already and left the building all alone." Looking out, the clerk was surprised to see the President. "Good evening,"

said Mr. Lincoln. "I was just looking for that man who goes shooting with me sometimes."

The clerk knew that Mr. Lincoln referred to a certain messenger of the Ordnance Department who had been accustomed to going with him to test weapons, but as this man had gone home, the clerk offered his services. Together they went to the lawn south of the White House, where Mr. Lincoln fixed up a target cut from a sheet of white Congressional notepaper. "Then pacing off a distance of about eighty or a hundred feet," writes the clerk, "he raised the rifle to a level, took a quick aim, and drove the round of seven shots in quick succession, the bullets shooting all around the target like a Gatling gun and one striking near the centre.

" 'I believe I can make this gun shoot better,' said Mr. Lincoln, after we had looked at the result of the first fire. With this he took from his vest pocket a small wooden sight which he had whittled from a pine stick and adjusted it over the sight of the carbine. He then shot two rounds, and of the fourteen bullets nearly a dozen hit the paper!"

It was in these early days of preparing for war that Mr. Lincoln interested himself, too, in experiments with the balloon. He was one of the first persons in this country to receive a telegraphic message from a balloon sent up to make observations on an enemy's works. This experiment was made in June, and so pleased the President that the balloonist was allowed to continue his observations from the Virginia side. These observations were successful, and

on June 21, Joseph Henry, the distinguished secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, declared in a report to the Administration that, "from experiments made here for the first time, it is conclusively proved that telegrams can be sent with ease and certainty between the balloon and the quarters of the commanding officer."

The extraordinary conditions under which Mr. Lincoln entered the White House prevented him for some weeks from adopting anything like systematic habits. By the time of his second call for troops, however, he had adjusted himself to his new home as well as he ever was able to do. The arrangement of the White House was not materially different then from what it is now. The entrance, halls, the East Room, the Green Room, the Blue Room, the State Dining-room, all were the same, the only difference being in furnishings and decorations. The Lincoln family used the west end of the second floor as a private apartment, the east end being devoted to business. Mr. Lincoln's office was the large room on the south side of the house, between the office of Private Secretary Nicolay, at the southeast corner, and the room now used as a Cabinet-room.

"The furniture of this room," says Mr. Isaac Arnold, a friend and frequent visitor of the President, "consisted of a large oak table covered with cloth, extending north and south, and it was around this table that the Cabinet sat when it held its meetings. Near the end of the table and between the windows was another table, on the west side of which the President sat, in a large armchair, and at this table he wrote. A tall desk, with pigeonholes for papers, stood

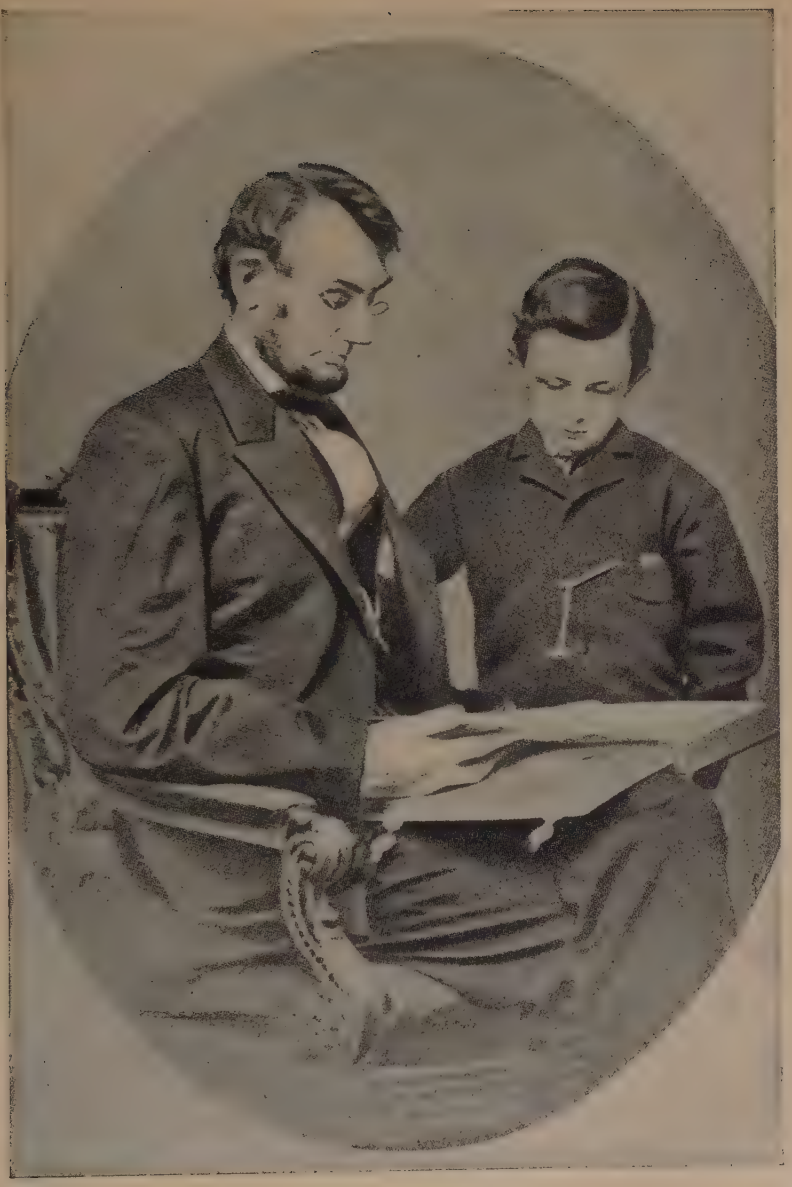
against the south wall. The only books usually found in this room were the Bible, the United States Statutes and a copy of Shakespeare. There were a few chairs and two plain hair-covered sofas. There were two or three map frames, from which hung military maps, on which the positions and movements of the armies were traced. There was an old and discolored engraving of General Jackson on the mantel and a later photograph of John Bright. Doors opened into this room from the room of the Secretary and from the outside hall, running east and west across the house. A bell cord within reach of his hand extended to the Secretary's office. A messenger sat at the door opening from the hall and took in the cards and names of visitors."

One serious annoyance in the arrangement of the business part of the White House at that date arose from the fact that to reach his office Mr. Lincoln was obliged, in coming from his private apartment, to pass through the hall. As this hall was always filled with persons anxious to see him, it was especially difficult for a man of his informal habits and genial nature to get through. Late in 1864 this difficulty was remedied. At the suggestion of one of his bodyguard, a door was cut from the family library into the cabinet-room and a light partition was run across the south end, thus enabling him to pass into his office without interruption.

Most of his time, while President, Mr. Lincoln undoubtedly spent in his office. He was a very early riser, being often at his desk at six o'clock in the morning, and sometimes even going out on errands at this early hour. A friend tells of passing the White House early one morning in the spring of 1861 and

seeing Mr. Lincoln standing at the gate, looking anxiously up and down the street. "Good morning, good morning," he said. "I am looking for a newsboy. When you get to the corner, I wish you would send one up this way."

After the firing on Fort Sumter and the alarm for the safety of Washington, the office-seekers fell off sufficiently for the President to announce that he would see no visitors before nine o'clock in the morning or after two in the afternoon. He never kept the rule himself, but those about him did their best to keep it for him. He was most informal in receiving visitors. Sometimes he even went out into the hall himself to reply to cards. Ben: Perley Poore says he did this frequently for newspaper men. Indeed, it was so much more natural for Mr. Lincoln to do things for himself than to call on others, to go to others than have them come to him, that he was constantly appearing in unexpected places. The place to which he went oftenest was the War Department. In 1861 separate buildings occupied the space now covered by the State, Army, and Navy Building. The War Department stood on the site of the northeast corner of the present structure, facing on Pennsylvania Avenue. The Navy Building was south and in line; no street separated the White House from these buildings, as now, but the lawn was continuous, and a gravel walk ran from one to another. Mr. Lincoln had no telegraph apparatus in the White House, so that all war news was brought to him from the War Department, unless he went after it. He much preferred to go after it, and he began soon after the fall



LINCOLN AND HIS SON THOMAS, FAMILIARLY KNOWN AS "TAD."
From a photograph made by Brady in Mr. Lincoln's first term.

of Fort Sumter to run over to the Department whenever anything important was going on. Mr. William B. Wilson, of Philadelphia, was in the military telegraph office of the War Department from the first of May, 1861, and in his recollections of Mr. Lincoln he recalls an incident illustrating admirably the President's informal relation to the telegraph office. Mr. Wilson had been sent to the White House hurriedly to repeat an important message from an excited Governor.

"Mr. Lincoln considered it of sufficient importance," writes Mr. Wilson, "to return with me to the War Department for the purpose of having a 'wire-talk' with the perturbed Governor. Calling one of his two younger boys to join him, we then started from the White House, between stately trees, along a gravel path which led to the rear of the old War Department Building. It was a warm day, and Mr. Lincoln wore as part of his costume a faded gray linen duster which hung loosely around his long, gaunt frame; his kindly eye was beaming with good nature, and his ever-thoughtful brow was unruffled. We had barely reached the gravel walk before he stooped over, picked up a round smooth pebble, and shooting it off his thumb, challenged us to a game of 'followings,' which we accepted. Each in turn tried to hit the outlying stone, which was being constantly projected onward by the President. The game was short, but exciting; the cheerfulness of childhood, the ambition of young manhood, and the gravity of the statesman were all injected into it. The game was not won until the steps of the War Department were reached. Every inch of progression was toughly contested, and when the President was declared victor, it was only by a hand span. He appeared to be as much pleased as if he had won a battle, and softened the defeat of the vanquished by attributing his success to his greater height of person and longer reach of arm."

One noticeable feature of Mr. Lincoln's life, at this time, was his relation to the common soldier. Officers he respected, even deferred to, but from the first arrival of troops in Washington it was the man on foot, with a gun on his shoulder, that had Mr. Lincoln's heart. Even at this early period the men found it out and went to him confidently for favors refused elsewhere. Thus the franking of letters by Congressmen was one of the perquisites of the boys, and there are cases of their going to the President with letters to be franked when they failed to find, or were refused by their Congressman. But they also soon learned that trivial pleas or complaints were met by rebukes as caustic as the help they received was genuine when they had a just cause. General Sherman relates the following incident that befell one day when he was riding through camp with Mr. Lincoln:

"I saw an officer with whom I had had a little difficulty that morning. His face was pale and his lips compressed. I foresaw a scene, but sat on the front seat of the carriage as quiet as a lamb. The officer forced his way through the crowd to the carriage, and said: 'Mr. President, I have a cause of grievance. This morning I went to speak to Colonel Sherman, and he threatened to shoot me.' Mr. Lincoln said: 'Threatened to shoot you?' 'Yes, sir, threatened to shoot me.' Mr. Lincoln looked at him, then at me and, stooping his tall form towards the officer, said to him, in a loud stage whisper, easily heard for some yards around, '*Well, if I were you, and he threatened to shoot me, I would not trust him, for I believe he would do it.*' "

It is curious to note in the records of the time how soon, not only the soldiers, but the general public of

Washington, discovered the big heart of the new President. A correspondent of the Philadelphia "Press," in a letter of May 23, tells how he saw Mr. Lincoln one day sitting in his "new barouche" in front of the Treasury, awaiting Mr. Chase, when there came along a boy on crutches. Lincoln immediately called the boy to him, asked him several questions, and then slipped a gold piece into his hands. "Such acts of liberality and disinterested charity," said the correspondent, "are frequently practiced by our Executive, who can never look upon distress without attempting to relieve it."

As soon as the first rush of soldiers to Washington was over and the Capital was comparatively safe, Mr. Lincoln began to take a drive every afternoon. It was among the soldiers that he went almost invariably. Indeed, it was impossible to escape the camps, so fully was the city turned over to the military. The Capitol, Inauguration Ball-room, Patent Office, and other public buildings were used as temporary quarters for incoming troops. The Corcoran Art Gallery had been turned into a storehouse for army supplies. A bakery was established in the basement of the Capitol. The Twelfth New York was in Franklin Park. At the Georgetown College was another regiment. On Meridian Hill the Seventh New York was stationed. Everywhere were soldiers. Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet officers drove daily to one or another of these camps. Very often his outing for the day was attending some ceremony incident to camp life: a military funeral, a camp wedding, a review, a flag-raising. He did not often make

speeches. "I have made a great many poor speeches," he said one day, in excusing himself, "and I now feel relieved that my dignity does not permit me to be a public speaker."

All through these early days of calling the army to Washington there was little to make one feel how terrible a thing it is to collect and prepare men for battle. So far it was the splendid outburst of patriotism, the dash of adventure, the holiday gaiety of it all, which had impressed the country. There were critics now who said, as they had said before the inauguration and again before the firing on Fort Sumter, that the President did not understand what was going on before his eyes. General Sherman himself confessed his irritation at what seemed to him an unbecoming placidity on the part of Mr. Lincoln. The General had just come from Louisiana. "How are they getting on down there?" asked the President.

"They are getting on swimmingly," Sherman replied. "They are preparing for war."

"Oh, well," Lincoln said, "I guess we'll manage to keep house."

More penetrating observers saw something else in the President, an inner man, wrestling incessantly with an awful problem. N. P. Willis, who saw him at one of the many flag-raisings of that spring, records an impression common enough among thoughtful observers:

"There was a momentary interval," writes Willis, "while the band played the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and during this 'brief waiting for the word,' all eyes, of course, were on the President's face, in which (at least for those near enough

to see it well) there was the same curious problem of expression which has been more than once noticed by the close observer of that singular countenance—the two-fold working of the two-fold nature of the man. Lincoln the Westerner, slightly humorous but thoroughly practical and sagacious, was measuring the 'chore' that was to be done and wondering whether that string was going to draw that heap of stuff through the hole in the top of the partition, determining that it should, but seeing clearly that it was mechanically a badly arranged job and expecting the difficulty that did actually occur. Lincoln the President and statesman was another nature, seen in those abstract and serious eyes, which seemed withdrawn to an inner sanctuary of thought, sitting in judgment on the scene and feeling its far reach into the future. A whole man, and an exceedingly handy and joyous one, was to hoist the flag, but an anxious and reverent and deep-thinking statesman and patriot was to stand apart while it went up and pray God for its long waving and sacred welfare. Completely, and yet separately, the one strange face told both stories, and told them well."

By the middle of May, 1861, the problem of Mr. Lincoln's life was how to use the army he had called together. The Capital was now well guarded. Troops were at Norfolk, Baltimore, and Harper's Ferry, the points at which the Confederates had made their earliest demonstrations. The uncertainty as to whether Kentucky would leave the Union had imperiled the line of the Ohio and compelled military demonstrations at Cincinnati and Cairo, and in Missouri the struggle between the Northern and Southern sympathizers had become so violent that a Military Department had been created there. Thus the President had a zigzag line of troops running from Missouri eastward to Norfolk. The bulk of all the troops how-

ever, were in and around Washington. The North had been urging the President, from the day it answered his first call, to advance the volunteers into Virginia. "Don't establish batteries on Georgetown Heights," wrote Zachariah Chandler from Michigan on April 17. "March your troops into Virginia. Quarter them there." Finally, about the middle of May, the President decided that a movement across the river should be made, the object being to seize the heights from Arlington south to Alexandria. Mr. Lincoln had the success of this movement deeply at heart. The Confederate flag flying from a staff at Alexandria had been a constant eyesore to him. Again and again he was seen standing with a gloomy face before one of the south windows of the White House looking through a glass at this flag.

The time for the advance was set for the night of May 23. By morning, Arlington, the shores of the Potomac southward, and the town of Alexandria were occupied by Federal troops. The enemy had fled at their approach. The flag which had caused Mr. Lincoln so much pain was gone, but its removal had cost a life very precious to the President. Young Colonel Ellsworth, one of the most brilliant officers in the volunteer service, a man whom the President had brought to Washington and for whom he felt the warmest affection, had been shot.

The Arlington heights seized, the army lay for weeks inactive. The one movement for which the North now clamored was a march from Arlington to Richmond. The delay to move made the country

irritable and sarcastic. Perhaps the completest expression of the discontent of the North with the military policy of the Administration is found in the New York "Tribune." For days, beginning early in June, that paper kept standing at the head of its editorial columns what it called "The Nation's War Cry." "Forward to Richmond. Forward to Richmond. The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July. By that date the place must be held by the National Army."

Mr. Lincoln was as anxious for a successful movement southward as any man in the country; but for some time he resisted the popular outcry, giving his generals the opportunity to make ready for which they begged. At last, towards the end of June, he decided that an advance must be made, and he summoned his Cabinet and the leading military men near Washington to meet him on the evening of June 29 and discuss the advisability of and the plans for an immediate attack on the enemy's army, then entrenched at Manassas Junction, some twenty miles southwest of Washington. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Scott, opposed the advance. He had another plan of campaign; moreover, the army was not ready. But Mr. Lincoln insisted that the country demanded a movement, and that if the Federal army was "green," so was that of the Confederates. General Scott waived his objections, and the advance was ordered for July 9.

Before the battle came off, however, the President wished to impress again on the North what it was fighting for. On July 4, when he sent his message

to Congress, which he had summoned in extra session, he put before them clearly his theory of and justification for the war.

"This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend. . . .

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war. . . .

"As a private citizen the executive could not have consented that the institutions of this country shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as the free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the changes of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your

actions may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

"And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

With these words Mr. Lincoln started the first War Congress on its duties and the Army of Northeastern Virginia towards Bull Run.

The advance of the Federals from Arlington towards Manassas Junction had been ordered for July 9. For one and another reason, however, it was July 21 before the army was ready to attack. The day was Sunday, a brilliant, hot Washington day. Anxious as Mr. Lincoln was over the coming battle, he went to church as usual. It was while he was there that a distant roar of cannon, the first sounds of the battle, only twenty miles away, reached him. Returning to the White House after the services, the President's first inquiry was for news. Telegrams had just begun to come in. They continued at intervals all the afternoon—broken reports from now this, now that, part of the field. Although fragmentary, they were as a whole encouraging. The President studied them carefully, and after a time went over to General Scott's headquarters to talk the news over with him. By half-past five he felt so sure that the field was won that he went out for his usual afternoon drive. What happened at the White House then the only eye witnesses, his secretaries, have told in their history:

"He had not returned when, at six o'clock, Secretary Seward came to the Executive Mansion, pale and haggard. 'Where is the President?' he asked hoarsely of the private secretaries. 'Gone to drive,' they answered. 'Have you any late news?' he continued. They read him the telegrams which announced victory. 'Tell no one,' said he. 'That is not true. The battle is lost. The telegraph says that McDowell is in full retreat and calls on General Scott to save the capital. Find the President and tell him to come immediately to General Scott's.'

"Half an hour later the President returned from his drive, and his private secretaries gave him Seward's message, the first intimation he received of the trying news. He listened in silence, without the slightest change of feature or expression, and walked away to army headquarters. There he read the unwelcome report in a telegram from a captain of engineers: 'General McDowell's army in full retreat through Centreville. The day is lost. Save Washington and the remnants of this army. . . . The routed troops will not re-form.'"

From that time on, for at least twenty-four hours, a continuous stream of tales of disaster poured upon Mr. Lincoln. A number of public men had gone from Washington to see the battle. Among them was Senator Dawes, whom General Scott had urged to go, telling him that it was undoubtedly the only battle he would ever have a chance to see. About midnight they began to return. They came in haggard, worn, and horror-stricken; a number of them went direct to the White House, where Mr. Lincoln, lying on his office sofa, listened to their tales of the panic that had seized the army about four in the afternoon and of the retreat that had followed. All of

those who returned that night to Washington were positive that the Confederates would attack the city before morning.

The events of the next day were no less harrowing to Mr. Lincoln than those of the night. A drizzling rain was falling, and from daybreak there could be seen, crowding and staggering across the Long Bridge, hundreds of soldiers, civilians, negroes, and horses. Hour by hour the streets of the city grew fuller. On the corners white-faced women stood beside boilers of coffee, feeding the exhausted men. Now and then the remnants of a regiment or company which somehow had kept together marched up the street, mud-splashed and dejected. One of the most pathetic sights of the day was the return of Burnside and his men. The regiment and its handsome general had been one of the town's delights. Now they came back broken in numbers and so overcome with fatigue that man after man dropped in the streets as he marched, while slowly in front, his head on his breast, the reins on the neck of his exhausted horse, rode Burnside.

Before Monday night, it was known that the enemy was not following up his advantage. Two days later the Union army was reintrenched on Arlington Heights. A revulsion of feeling had already begun. The effort to make out the rout to be complete and terrible was followed by an attempt to show that it was nothing but a panic among teamsters and sightseers. Mr. Lincoln was asked to listen to a number of these explanations. "Ah, I see," he said to one

vindicator of the day, "we whipped the enemy, and then ran away from him."

Explanations of the Battle of Bull Run did not interest the President. He was giving his whole mind to repairing the disaster. Two days later, July 23, he wrote out the following "Memoranda of Military Policy suggested by the Bull Run Defeat." Nicolay and Hay, to whose history we owe this document, say that the President made the first notes of this "policy" while men were bringing him news of the disaster.

1. Let the plan for making the blockade effective be pushed forward with all possible dispatch.

2. Let the volunteer forces at Fort Monroe and vicinity under General Butler be constantly drilled, disciplined, and instructed without more for the present.

3. Let Baltimore be held as now, with a gentle but firm and certain hand.

4. Let the force now under Patterson or Banks be strengthened and made secure in its position.

5. Let the forces in Western Virginia act till further orders according to instructions or orders from General McClellan.

6. Let General Frémont push forward his organization and operations in the West as rapidly as possible, giving rather special attention to Missouri.

7. Let the forces late before Manassas, except the three months' men, be reorganized as rapidly as possible in their camps here and about Arlington.

8. Let the three months' forces who decline to enter the longer service be discharged as rapidly as circumstances will permit.

9. Let the new volunteer forces be brought forward as fast as possible; and especially into the camps on the two sides of the river here.

July 27, 1861.

When the foregoing shall be substantially attended to:

1. Let Manassas Junction (or some point on one or other of the railroads near it) and Strasburg be seized and permanently held, with an open line from Washington to Manassas, and an open line from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg —the military men to find the way of doing these.

2. This done, a joint movement from Cairo on Memphis; and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee.

It was to points 7, 8 and 9 of the above memorandum that the President gave his first attention.

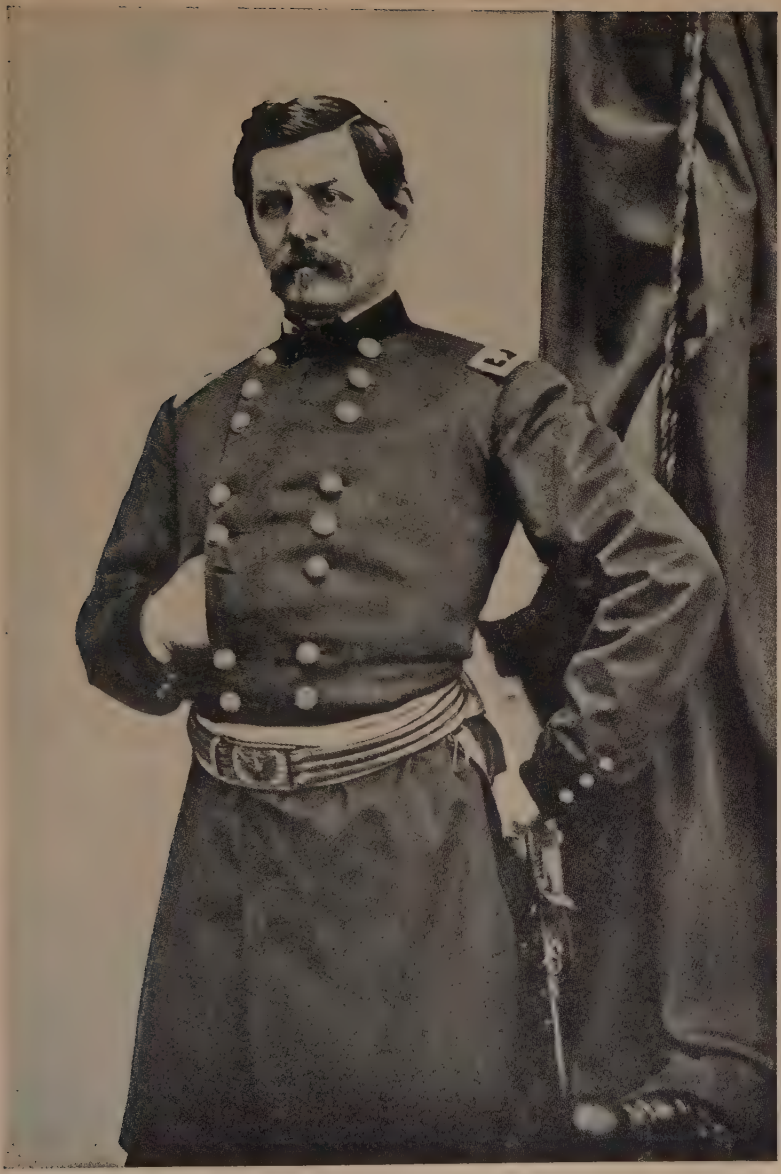
Congress, prostrated as it was by the unexpected defeat, stood by Lincoln bravely, voting him men and money. Resources he was not going to lack. The confidence of the country was what he needed. To stimulate this confidence, Mr. Lincoln and his advisers summoned to Washington, on July 22, George B. McClellan, the only man who had thus far accomplished anything in the war on which the North looked with pride, and asked him to take command of the demoralized army. A more effective move could not have been made.

McClellan was a West Point graduate who had seen service in the Mexican War, but who, in the spring of 1861 was holding a position as a railroad president. His home was in Cincinnati. After the fall of Sumter the fear of invasion spread rapidly westward from Washington. On April 21 the Governor of Ohio wired the Secretary of War that he desired a suitable United States officer to be detailed at once to take command of the volunteers of Cincinnati and to provide for the defense of that city,

and the next day several leading men wired that the "People of Cincinnati" wished Captain McClellan to be appointed to the position.

A month later, when West Virginia had decided to stay with the Union and Eastern Virginia had decided to coerce her to remain with the South, McClellan, who had been put in charge of the Ohio troops as his friends requested, was ordered to protect the Unionists of the section against the Southern army. Early in July he undertook an offensive campaign against the enemy, completely driving him from the country in less than three weeks. McClellan announced his victories in a series of addresses which thrilled the North. They saw in him a great general, a second Napoleon and were satisfied when he was put in charge of the army that the disgrace of Bull Run would be speedily wiped out.

While occupied in reorganizing and increasing the army, Mr. Lincoln did his best to improve the morale of officers and men. One of the first things he did, in fact, after the battle was to "run over to see the boys," as he expressed it. General Sherman, who was with Mr. Lincoln as he drove about the camps on this visit, says that he made one of the "neatest, best, and most feeling addresses" he ever listened to, and that its effect on the troops was "excellent." As often as he could after this, Mr. Lincoln went to the Arlington camps. Frequently in these visits he left his carriage and walked up and down the lines shaking hands with the men, repeating heartily as he did so, "God bless you, God bless you." Before a month had passed, he saw that under McClellan's



GEO. B. McCLELLAN, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY NOVEMBER 1, 1861, TO NOVEMBER 7, 1862.

Born, 1826; died, 1885.

training the Army of the Potomac, as it had come to be called, had recovered almost completely from the panic of Bull Run, and that it was growing every day in efficiency. But scarcely had his anxiety over the condition of things around Washington been allayed, before a grave problem was raised in the West. The severest criticisms began to come to him on the conduct of a man whom he had made a major-general and whom he had put in command of the important Western division, John C. Frémont. The force of these criticisms was intensified by serious disasters to the Union troops in Missouri.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FAILURE OF FREMONT—LINCOLN'S FIRST DIFFICULTIES WITH MC CLELLAN—THE DEATH OF WILLIE LINCOLN

THE most popular military appointment Lincoln had made before McClellan had been that of John C. Frémont to the command of the Department of the West. Republicans appreciated it, for had not Frémont been the first candidate of their party for the Presidency? The West was jubilant: Frémont's explorations had years before made him the hero of the land along the Mississippi. The cabinet was satisfied, particularly Postmaster General Blair, whose "pet and *protégé*" Frémont was. Lincoln himself "thought well of Frémont," believed he could do the work to be done; and he had already had experience enough to discern that his great trouble was to be, not finding major-generals—he had more *pegs* than *holes* to put them in, he said one day—but finding major-generals who could do the thing they were ordered to do.

Frémont had gone to his headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri, late in July. Before a month had passed, the gravest charges of incompetency and neglect of duty were being made against him. It was even intimated to the President that the General was using

his position to work up a Northwestern Confederacy.* Mr. Lincoln had listened to all these charges, but taken no action, when, on the morning of August 30, he was amazed to read in his newspaper that Frémont had issued a proclamation declaring, among other things, that the property, real and personal, of all the persons in the State of Missouri who should take up arms against the United States, or who should be directly proved to have taken an active part with its enemies in the field, would be confiscated for public use and their slaves, if they had any, declared freemen.

Frémont's proclamation astonished the country as much as it did the President. In the North it elicited almost universal satisfaction. This was striking at the root of the trouble—slavery. But in the Border States, particularly in Kentucky, the Union Party was dismayed. The only possible method of keeping those sections in the Union was not to interfere with slavery. Mr. Lincoln saw this as clearly as his Bor-

* Dr. Emil Preetorius, editor of the "Westliche Post" of St. Louis, Mo., said of this charge, in an interview for this work: "I know that Frémont gave no countenance to any scheme which others may have conceived for the establishment of a Northwestern Confederacy. I had abundant proof, through the years that I knew him, that he was a patriot and a most unselfish man. The defect in Frémont was that he was a dreamer. Impractical, visionary things went a long way with him. He was a poor judge of men and formed strange associations. He surrounded himself with foreigners, especially Hungarians, most of whom were adventurers and some of whom were swindlers. I struggled hard to persuade him not to let these men have so much to do with his administration. Mrs. Frémont, unlike the General, was most practical. She was fond of success. She and the General were alike, however, in their notions of the loyalty due between friends. Once, when I protested against the character of the men who surrounded Frémont, she replied: 'Do you know these very men went out with us on horseback when we took possession of the Mariposa? They risked their lives for us. Now we can't go back on them.' It was the woman's feeling. She forgot that brave men may sometimes be downright thieves and robbers."

der State supporters. It was well known that this was his policy. He felt that Frémont had not only defied the policy of the administration, he had usurped power which belonged only to the legislative part of the government. He had a good excuse for reprimanding the general, even for removing him. Instead, he wrote him, on September 2, a kindly letter:

"I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph [of the proclamation], in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

"This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you."

But Lincoln did more than this. Without waiting for Frémont's reply to the above, he went over carefully all the criticisms of the General's administration, in order to see if he could help him. His conclusion was that Frémont was isolating himself too much from men who were interested in the same cause, and so did not know what was going on in the very matters with which he was dealing. That Mr. Lincoln hit the very root of Frémont's difficulty is evident from the testimony of the men who were with the General in Missouri at the time. Colonel George E.

Leighton of St. Louis, who became provost-marshal of the city in the fall of 1861, says:

"Frémont isolated himself, and, unlike Grant, Halleck, and others of like rank, was unapproachable. When Halleck came here to assume command and called on Frémont, he was accompanied simply by a member of his staff; but when Frémont returned the call, he rode down with great pomp and ceremony, escorted by his staff and bodyguard of one hundred men."

General B. G. Farrar recounts his experience in trying to get an important message to Frémont from General Lyon, who was at Springfield with an insufficient force:

"Word was returned to me that General Frémont was very busy, that he could not receive the dispatch then, and requested me to call in the afternoon. I called in the afternoon, and was again told that General Frémont was very busy. Three days passed before I succeeded in obtaining an audience with Frémont. As commander of the department Frémont assumed all the prerogatives of an absolute ruler. The approach to his headquarters was through a long line of guards. There were guards at the corners of the streets, guards at the gate, guards at the door, guards at the entrance to the adjutant-general's office, and a whole regiment of troops in the barracks adjacent to his headquarters. I saw his order making Colonel Harding of the home guard a brigadier-general. This was done without consultation with the President and without authority of law. The Czar of Russia could hardly be more absolute in his authority than Frémont assumed to be at St. Louis. . . . Frémont never asked Washington for authority to do a thing. While at St. Louis Frémont visited nobody, so far as I know. When he went forth from his headquarters at all he went under the escort of his bodyguard and a staff brilliantly uniformed.

When he removed his headquarters to Jefferson City he went on a special train, with all the trappings and surroundings of a royal potentate. . . ."

Having made up his mind what Frémont's fault was, Lincoln asked General David Hunter to go to Missouri. "He [Frémont] needs to have at his side a man of large experience," he wrote to Hunter. "Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it, but will you not serve the country and oblige me by taking it voluntarily?" At the same time that Hunter was asked to go to Frémont's relief, Postmaster General Blair went to St. Louis, with the President's approbation, to talk with the general, "as a friend."

In the meantime, Lincoln's letter of September 2 had reached Frémont. After a few days the General replied that he wished the President himself would make the general order modifying the clause of the proclamation which referred to the liberation of slaves. This letter he sent by his wife, Jessie Benton Frémont, a woman of ambition and great energy of character. "While Frémont was in command of the Department, Mrs. Frémont was the real chief of staff," says Col. Geo. F. Leighton. "She was a woman of strong personality, having inherited much of the brains and force of character which distinguished her father, Senator Benton." "Mrs. Frémont was much like her father," says Judge Clover of St. Louis. "She was intellectual and possessed great force of will." She started East deeply indignant that Mr. Lincoln should ask her husband to modify his proclamation. When she reached Washington, she learned

that Mr. Blair had gone to St. Louis. Jumping to the conclusion that it was with an order to remove her husband, she hastened to Mr. Lincoln. It was midnight, but the President gave her an audience. Without waiting for an explanation, she violently charged him with sending an enemy to Missouri to look into Frémont's case and threatening that if Frémont desired to he could set up a government for himself. "I had to exercise all the rude tact I have to avoid quarrelling with her," said Mr. Lincoln afterwards.

The day after this interview Lincoln sent the order modifying the clause as Frémont had requested. When this was made public, a perfect storm of denunciation broke over the President. The whole North felt outraged. There was talk of impeaching Lincoln and of replacing him with Frémont. Great newspapers criticised his action, warning him to learn whither he was tending. Influential men in all professions spoke bitterly of his action. "How many times," wrote James Russell Lowell to Miss Norton, "are we to save Kentucky and lose our self-respect?" The hardest of these criticisms for Lincoln to bear were those from his old friends in Illinois, nearly all of whom supported Frémont.

The general supposition throughout the country at this time was that the President would remove Frémont. He, however, had no idea of dismissing the General on the ground of the proclamation, and he hoped, as he wrote to Senator Browning, that no real necessity existed for it on any ground. The hope was vain. Disasters to the Union army, the

evident result of the General's inefficiency, and positive proofs of corruption in the management of the financial affairs of the Department, multiplied. In spite of expostulations and threats from Frémont's supporters Lincoln decided to remove him. But he would not do it without giving him a last chance. In sending the order for his removal and the appointment of General Hunter to his place he directed that it was not to be delivered if there was any evidence that Frémont had fought, or was about to fight, a battle. It was not only Lincoln's sense of justice which led him to give a last chance to Frémont; it was a part of that far-seeing political wisdom of his—not to displace men until they themselves had demonstrated their unfitness so clearly that even their friends must finally agree that he had done right.

It was generally believed in Missouri that Frémont had decided to receive no bearer of despatches, so that if the President did remove him he could say that he never had been informed of the fact. General Curtis, to whom Lincoln forwarded his order by his friend, Leonard Swett, knowing this, sent copies by three separate messengers to Frémont's headquarters. The one who delivered it first was General T. I. McKenny, of Olympia, Washington. His story, written out for this work, is good evidence of the pass to which things had come in Frémont's department:

"About three o'clock at night, on October 27, 1861, I think it was, I was awakened by a messenger stating that General Curtis desired to see me at his headquarters. I found Leonard Swett there with the General, who informed

me that he had an important message from the President to be taken to General Frémont, then in the field, it not being known where. I was shown the order that I was to convey, that General Frémont was relieved of his command of the Department of the West and General Hunter placed temporarily in his stead. Aside from this, I had special instructions which I understood were Mr. Lincoln's own—

"1st. If General Frémont had fought and gained a decided victory—not a mere skirmish—then not to deliver the message.

"2d. If he was in the immediate presence of the enemy and about to begin a battle, not to deliver it.

"3d. If neither of these conditions prevailed, to deliver it and to make it known immediately, as it was thought that he was determined to receive no orders superseding him.

"I immediately went to St. Louis, waked up a second-hand dealer in clothing and fitted myself out as a Southern planter, and then took the train for Rolla, Missouri. There I secured horses and a guide, and about two o'clock at night rode rapidly south in the direction of Springfield, Missouri, where I expected to find Frémont. I rode this distance principally in the night, passing through the small rebel towns at a very rapid gait. About 117 miles from Rolla I reached the outer cordon of Frémont's pickets. Here I had difficulty getting through the lines, as the instructions to the guard were very stringent. When I finally got in, there being no immediate prospects of a battle, I straightway made my way to Frémont's headquarters, where I met the officer of the day, who told me that I could not see General Frémont, but that he would introduce me to his chief of staff, Colonel Eaton. The latter also told me that I could not see the General; but if I would make my business known to him, that he would communicate it to Frémont. This I positively refused to do. He returned to Frémont and communicated what I had said, but it had no effect. Late in the evening, however, I was hunted up by Colonel Eaton, who took me to General Frémont's office.

"The General was sitting at the end of quite a long table facing the door by which I entered. I never can forget the appearance of the man as he sat there, with his piercing eye, and his hair parted in the middle. I ripped from my coat lining the document, which had been sewed in there, and handed the same to him, which he nervously took and opened. He glanced at the superscription and then at the signature at the bottom, not looking at the contents. A frown came over his brow, and he slammed the paper down on the table and said, 'Sir, how did you get admission into my lines?' I told him that I had come in as a messenger bearing information from the rebel lines. He waved me out, saying, 'That will do for the present.'

"I had orders to make the contents of the document known as soon as delivered. The first man I met was General Sturgis, to whom I gave the information. I was then overtaken by the chief of staff, Eaton, who said that General Frémont was much disappointed with the communication, as he had thought that I had information from the rebel forces, and that he requested me not to make the message known for the present.

"I then told Colonel Eaton that I had important despatches for General Hunter and would like transportation and a guide, and he remarked that he would consult General Frémont on the subject. He soon returned with the information that Frémont did not know where General Hunter was and refused to give me any transportation, saying that he had been relieved and had no authority to do so. I then went to a self-styled 'Colonel' Richardson, who had a kind of marauding company, having been mustered into neither the United States service nor the state service. I gave him to understand that I would use my influence to have him regularly mustered into the service, whereupon he furnished me with a good horse and pretended guide. I could get no information in regard to Hunter, but there was a rumor that he was making towards Springfield and was in the region of a place called Buffalo. I therefore started out about eleven

o'clock at night on the Buffalo road, and, after great difficulty, reached the town about daylight, but I could hear nothing of General Hunter. I left my guide, and started out on the road to Bolivar. I had not proceeded more than twelve or fifteen miles before I heard the rattling of horses' hoofs in my rear. I stopped to await their arrival and found that they were a small detachment of Hunter's troops to inform me that the General had just arrived in Buffalo, whereupon I retraced my steps and delivered my message. General Hunter immediately started for Springfield with a four-mule ambulance. Arriving, he issued a short proclamation assuming command. It was thought by some that this would produce a mutiny among the foreign element. It did not."

It was not in the West alone that the President was suffering disappointment. At the time when Frémont received the order retiring him, McClellan had been in command of the Army of the Potomac for over three months. His force had been increased until it numbered over 168,000 men. He had given night and day to organizing and drilling this army, and it seemed to those who watched him that he now had a force as near ready for battle as an army could be made ready by anything save actual fighting. Mr. Lincoln had fully sympathized with his young general's desire to prepare the Army of the Potomac for the field, and he had given him repeated proofs of his support. McClellan, however, seems to have felt from the first that Mr. Lincoln's kindness was merely a personal recognition of his own military genius. He had conceived the idea that it was he alone who was to save the country. "The people call upon me to save the country," he wrote to his wife, "I must

save it, and cannot respect anything that is in the way." The President's suggestions, when they did not agree with his own ideas, he regarded as an interference. Thus he imagined that the enemy had three or four times his force, and when the President doubted this he complained, "The President cannot or will not see the true state of affairs." Lincoln, in his anxiety to know the details of the work in the army, went frequently to McClellan's headquarters. That the President had a serious purpose in these visits McClellan did not see. "I enclose a card just received from 'A. Lincoln,'" he wrote to his wife one day; "it shows too much deference to be seen outside." In another letter to Mrs. McClellan he spoke of being "interrupted" by the President and Secretary Seward, "who had nothing in particular to say," and again of concealing himself "to dodge all enemies in shape of 'browsing' Presidents, etc." His plans he kept to himself, and when at the Cabinet meetings, to which he was constantly summoned, military matters were discussed, he seemed to feel that it was an encroachment on his special business. "I am becoming daily more disgusted with this Administration—perfectly sick of it," he wrote early in October; and a few days later, "I was obliged to attend a meeting of the Cabinet at 8 P. M. and was bored and annoyed. There are some of the greatest geese in the Cabinet I have ever seen—enough to tax the patience of Job."

As time went on, he began to show plainly his contempt of the President, frequently allowing him to wait in the anteroom of his house while he transacted

business with others. This discourtesy was so open that McClellan's staff noticed it, and newspaper correspondents commented on it. The President was too keen not to see the situation, but he was strong enough to ignore it. It was a battle he wanted from McClellan, not deference. "I will hold McClellan's horse, if he will only bring us success," he said one day.

While there was a pretty general disposition at first to give McClellan time to organize, before the first three months were up Lincoln was receiving impatient comments on the inactivity of the army. This impatience became anger and dismay when, on October 21, the battle of Ball's Bluff ended in defeat. To Mr. Lincoln, Ball's Bluff was more than a military reverse. By it he suffered a terrible personal loss, the death of one of his oldest and dearest friends, Colonel E. D. Baker. Mr. C. C. Coffin, who was at McClellan's headquarters when Lincoln received the news of his friend's death, tells of the scene:

"The afternoon was lovely, a rare October day. I learned early in the day that something was going on up the Potomac, near Edward's Ferry, by the troops under General Banks. What was going on no one knew, even at McClellan's headquarters. It was near sunset when, accompanied by a fellow correspondent, I went to ascertain what was taking place. We entered the anteroom, and sent our cards to General McClellan. While we waited, President Lincoln came in; he recognized us, reached out his hand, spoke of the beauty of the afternoon, while waiting for the return of the young lieutenant who had gone to announce his arrival. The lines were deeper in the President's face than when I saw him in his own home, the cheeks more sunken. They had lines of care and anxiety. For eighteen months he had borne

a burden such as has fallen upon few men, a burden as weighty as that which rested upon the great law-giver of Israel.

" 'Please to walk this way,' said the lieutenant. We could hear the click of the telegraph in the adjoining room and low conversation between the President and General McClellan, succeeded by silence, excepting the click, click of the instrument, which went on with its tale of disaster. Five minutes passed, and then Mr. Lincoln, unattended, with bowed head and tears rolling down his furrowed cheeks, his face pale and wan, his breast heaving with emotion, passed through the room. He almost fell as he stepped into the street. We sprang involuntarily from our seats to render assistance, but he did not fall. With both hands pressed upon his heart, he walked down the street, not returning the salute of the sentinel pacing his beat before the door.

"General McClellan came a moment later. 'I have not much news to tell you,' he said. 'There has been a movement of troops across the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, under General Stone, and Colonel Baker is reported killed. That is about all I can give you.' "

After Ball's Bluff, the grumbling against inaction in the Army of the Potomac increased until public attention was suddenly distracted by an incident of an entirely new character, and one which changed the discouragement of the North over the repeated military failures and the inactivity of the army into exultation. This incident was the capture, on November 8, by Captain Wilkes, of the warship *San Jacinto,* of two Confederate commissioners to Europe, Messrs. Mason and Slidell. Captain Wilkes had stopped the British royal mail packet *Trent,* one day out from Havana, and taken the envoys with their secretaries from her. It was not until November 15 that Cap-

tain Wilkes put into Hampton Roads and sent the Navy Department word of his performance.

Of course the message was immediately carried to Mr. Lincoln at the White House. A few hours later Benson J. Lossing called on the President, and the conversation turned on the news. Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate to express himself.

"I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants," he said. "We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do exactly what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrines, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years."

As time went on, Lincoln had every reason to suppose that there was an overwhelming sentiment in the country in favor of keeping the commissioners and braving the wrath of England. Banquets and presentations, votes of thanks by the Cabinet and by Congress, all kinds of ovation, were accorded Captain Wilkes. During this excitement the President held his peace, not even referring to the affair in the message he sent to Congress on December 3. He was studying the situation. Before his inauguration he had said one day to Seward: "One part of the business, Governor Seward, I think I shall leave almost entirely in your hands; that is, the dealing with those foreign nations and their governments." Now, however, he saw that he must exercise a controlling in-

fluence. The person with whom he seems to have discussed the case most seriously was Charles Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Sumner was one of the few men who had from the first believed in Lincoln. Although himself most radical, he had been appreciative of the President-elect's point of view, and had seen in the interval between the election and the inauguration that, as a matter of fact, Lincoln was, on the essential question at issue, "firm as a chain of steel." Thus, on January 26, he wrote, "Mr. Lincoln is perfectly firm. He says that the Republican Party shall not, with his assent, become a mere sucked egg, all shell and no meat, the principle all sucked out." Although himself a most polished, even a fastidious gentleman, Sumner never allowed Lincoln's homely ways to hide his great qualities. He gave him a respect and esteem at the start which others accorded only after experience. The Senator was most tactful, too, in his dealings with Mrs. Lincoln, and soon had a firm footing in the household. That he was proud of this, perhaps a little boastful, there is no doubt. Lincoln himself appreciated this. "Sumner thinks he runs me," he said, with an amused twinkle, one day. After the seizure of Mason and Slidell, the President talked over the question frequently with Sumner, who, from the receipt of the news, had declared, "We shall have to give them up."

Early in December, word reached America that England was getting ready to go to war in case we did not give up the commissioners. The news aroused

the deepest indignation, and the determination to keep Mason and Slidell was for a brief time stronger than ever. Common sense was doing its work, however. Gradually the people began to feel that, after all, the commissioners were "white elephants." On December 19, the Administration received a notice that the only redress which would satisfy the British government would be "the liberation of the four gentlemen," and their delivery to the British minister at Washington and a "suitable apology for the aggression which had been committed." In the days which followed, while the Secretary of State was preparing the reply to be submitted, Sumner was much with the President. We have the Senator's assurance that the President was applying his mind carefully to the answer, so that it would be essentially his. It is evident from Sumner's letter, that Lincoln was resolved that there should be no war with England. Thus, on December 23, Sumner wrote to John Bright, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence:

"Your letter and also Cobden's I showed at once to the President, who is much moved and astonished by the English intelligence. He is essentially honest and pacific in disposition, with a natural slowness. Yesterday he said to me, 'There will be no war unless England is bent upon having one.' "

It was on Christmas day that Seward finally had his answer ready. It granted the British demand as to the surrender of the prisoners, though it refused an apology—on the ground that Captain Wilkes had acted without orders. After the paper had been dis-

cussed by the Cabinet, but no decision reached, and all of the members but Seward had departed, Lincoln said, according to Mr. Frederick Seward:

"Governor Seward, you will go on, of course, preparing your answer, which, as I understand it, will state the reasons why they ought to be given up. Now, I have a mind to try my hand at stating the reasons why they ought *not* to be given up. We will compare the points on each side."

But the next day, after a Cabinet meeting at which it was decided finally to return the prisoners, when Secretary Seward said to the President: "You thought you might frame an argument for the other side?" Mr. Lincoln smiled and shook his head. "I found I could not make an argument that would satisfy my own mind," he said; "and that proved to me your ground was the right one."

Lincoln's first conclusion was the real ground on which the Administration submitted: "We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals." The country grimaced at the conclusion. It was to many, as Chase declared it was to him, "gall and wormwood." Lowell's clever verse expressed best the popular feeling:

We give the critters back, John
  Cos Abram thought 't was right;
It warn't your bullyin' clack, John,
  Provokin' us to fight.

The decision raised Mr. Lincoln immeasurably in the view of thoughtful men, especially in England.

"If reparation were made at all, of which few of us felt more than a hope," wrote John Stuart Mill, "we thought that it would be made obviously as a concession to prudence, not to principle. We thought that there would have been truckling to the newspaper editors and supposed fire-eaters who were crying out for retaining the prisoners at all hazards. . . . We expected everything, in short, which would have been weak, and timid, and paltry. The only thing which no one seemed to expect is what has actually happened. Mr. Lincoln's government have done none of these things. Like honest men they have said in direct terms that our demand was right; that they yielded to it because it was just; that if they themselves had received the same treatment, they would have demanded the same reparation; and if what seemed to be the American side of the question was not the just side, they would be on the side of justice, happy as they were to find after their resolution had been taken, that it was also the side which America had formerly defended. Is there any one capable of a moral judgment or feeling, who will say that his opinion of America and American statesmen is not raised by such an act, done on such grounds?"

Before the *Trent* affair was settled another matter came up to distract attention from McClellan's inactivity and to harass Mr. Lincoln. This time it was trouble in his official family. Mr. Cameron, his Secretary of War, had become even more obnoxious to the public than Frémont or McClellan. Like Seward, Cameron had been one of Lincoln' competitors at the Chicago Convention in 1860. His appointment to the Cabinet, however, had not been made, like Seward's, because of his eminent fitness. It was one case in which a bargain had been made before the nomination. This bargain was not struck by Mr. Lincoln,

but by his friend and ablest supporter at Chicago, Judge David Davis. There was so general a belief in the country that Cameron was corrupt in his political methods that, when it was noised that he was to be one of Lincoln's Cabinet, a strong effort was made to displace him. It succeeded temporarily, the President-elect withdrawing the promise of appointment after he had made it. Such pressure was brought to bear, however, that in the end he made Judge Davis's pledge good and gave the portfolio of war to Mr. Cameron.

The unsatisfactory preliminaries to the appointment must have affected the relations of the two men. Cameron's enemies watched his administration with sharp eyes, and not long after the war began commenced to bring accusations of maladministration to the President. The gist of them was that contracts were awarded for politics' sake and that the government was being swindled wholesale.

"We hear," said the "Evening Post" in June, "of knapsacks glued together and falling to pieces after the first day's use; of uniform coats which are torn to pieces with a slight pull of the fingers; of blankets too small if they were good, and too poor stuff to be useful if they were of the proper size, shoes, caps, trousers, coats—all are too often of such poor material that before a soldier is ready for service he must be clothed anew."

Soon after the extra session of Congress assembled in July, a committee was appointed to look into the contracts the War Department was making. This committee spent the entire fall in investigation, sit-

ting in Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities. Its report, when made public in December, proved to be full of sensational developments. The Secretary of War, it was clear, had not been able to manage his department without great scandal. If he himself were incorruptible he was not big enough for his duties and inefficiency in affairs of state, particularly in time of war, is criminal. The matter was too serious a one for Mr. Lincoln to overlook. The public would not have permitted him to overlook it, even if he had been so disposed.

Cameron not only brought the President into trouble by his bad management of the business of his office, but in his December report he attempted, without Mr. Lincoln's knowledge, to advocate a measure in direct opposition to what he knew to be the President's policy in regard to slavery. This measure declared in favor of arming the slaves and employing "their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline, and command." This report was mailed before the President saw it; but as soon as he knew its contents, he ordered it withdrawn from circulation.

Nine months of this sort of experience convinced Lincoln that Cameron was not the man for the place, and he took advantage of a remark which the Secretary, probably in a moment of depression, had made to him more than once, that he wanted a "change of position," and made him Minister to Russia. It is plain from Lincoln's letters to Cameron at this time and his subsequent treatment of him that, with characteristic fair-dealing, he took into consideration all

the enormous difficulties which beset the Secretary of War. He saw what the public refused to see, that "to bring the War Department up to the standard of the times, and work an army of 500,000 with machinery adapted to a peace establishment of 12,000, is no easy task." He had all this in mind evidently when he relieved Cameron, for he assured him of his personal regard and of his confidence in his "ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust." A few months later he did still more for Cameron. In April, 1862, Congress passed a bill censuring the Secretary for certain of his transactions. The President soon after sent the body a message in which he claimed that he himself was equally responsible in the transaction for which Cameron was being censured:

"I should be wanting equally in candor and in justice if I should leave the censure expressed in this resolution to rest exclusively or chiefly upon Mr. Cameron. The same sentiment is unanimously entertained by the heads of departments who participated in the proceedings which the House of Representatives has censured. It is due to Mr. Cameron to say that, although he fully approved the proceedings, they were not moved nor suggested by himself, and that not only the President but all the other heads of departments, were at least equally responsible with him for whatever error, wrong, or fault was committed in the premises."

In deciding on a successor to Mr. Cameron, the President showed more clearly, perhaps, than in any other appointment of his whole presidential career how far above personal resentments he was in his public dealings. He chose a man who six years before, at a time when consideration from a superior

meant a great deal to him, had subjected him to a slight, and this for no other apparent reason than that he was rude in dress and unpolished in manner; a man who, besides, had been his most scornful, even vituperative, critic since his election. This man was Edwin M. Stanton, a lawyer of ability, integrity, and loyalty, who had won the confidence of the North by his patriotic services in Buchanan's Cabinet from December, 1860, to the close of his administration, March 4, 1861. Lincoln's first encounter with Stanton had been in 1855, in his first case of importance outside of Illinois. He was a counsel in the case with Stanton, but the latter ignored him so openly that all those associated with them observed it.

Lincoln next knew of Stanton when, as President-elect, he watched from Springfield the deplorable dissolution of the federal authority which Buchanan allowed, and he must have felt profoundly grateful for the fresh vigor and determination which were infused into the Administration when, in December, 1860, Stanton and Holt entered Buchanan's Cabinet. After Lincoln was inaugurated he had nothing to do with Stanton. In fact he did not see him from the 4th of March, 1861, to the day he handed him his commission as Secretary of War, in January, 1862. Stanton, however, was watching Lincoln's administration closely, even disdainfully. After Bull Run he wrote to ex-President Buchanan: "The imbecility of this Administration culminated in that catastrophe; an irretrievable misfortune and national disgrace, never to be forgotten, are to be added to the ruin of all peaceful pursuits and national bankruptcy, as

the result of Lincoln's 'running the machine' for five months."

McClellan, who saw much of Stanton in the fall of 1861, says:

"The most disagreeable thing about him was the extreme virulence with which he abused the President, the Administration, and the Republican Party. He carried this to such an extent that I was often shocked by it. He never spoke of the President in any other way than as the 'original gorilla,' and often said that Du Chaillu was a fool to wander all the way to Africa in search of what he could so easily have found at Springfield, Illinois. Nothing could have been more bitter than his words and manner always were when speaking of the Administration and the Republican Party. He never gave them credit for honesty or patriotism, and very seldom for any ability."

Lincoln, if he knew of this abuse, which is improbable, regarded it no more seriously than he did McClellan's slights. He knew Stanton was able and loyal; that the country believed in him; that he would administer the department with honesty and energy. Furthermore, he knew of the intimacy between McClellan and Stanton, and as he saw the great necessity of harmonious relations between the head of the War Department and the commander of the army, he was more in favor of Stanton. The appointment was generally regarded as a wise selection, and in many quarters aroused enthusiasm.

"No man ever entered upon the discharge of the most momentous public duties under more favorable auspices, so far as public confidence and support can create such auspices," said the New York "Tribune." "In all the loyal

states there has not been one dissent from the general acclamation which hailed Mr. Stanton's appointment as eminently wise and happy. The simple truth is that Mr. Stanton was not appointed to and does not accept the War Department in support of any program or policy whatever, but the unqualified and uncompromising vindication of the authority and integrity of the Union. Whatever views he may entertain respecting slavery will not be allowed to swerve him one hair from the line of paramount and single-hearted devotion to the National cause. If slavery or anti-slavery shall at any time be found obstructing or impeding the nation in its efforts to crush out this monstrous rebellion, he will walk straight on in the path of duty though that path should lead him over or through the impediment and insure its annihilation."

Stanton took hold of his task with the aggressive earnestness and energy of his nature. He made open war on contractors. He did not hesitate to let McClellan know that he expected an advance. As he wrote Charles A. Dana on January 22:

"This army has got to fight or run away; and while men are striving nobly in the West, the champagne and oysters on the Potomac must be stopped."

It is evident from this same letter to Mr. Dana that he had undertaken to discipline even the President for his habit of joking:

"I feel a deep, *earnest* feeling growing up around me. We have no jokes or trivialities, but all with whom I act show that they are in dead earnest."

The excitement over the *Trent* affair, the investigation of the War Department, the dismissal of Cam-

eron, and the appointment of Stanton, diverted public criticism from McClellan; but never for long at a time. The inactivity of the Army of the Potomac had become the subject of gibes and sneers. Lincoln stood by the General. He had promised him all the "sense and information" he had, and he gave it. When Congress opened on December 3, he took the opportunity to remind the country that the General was its own choice, as well as his, and that support was due him:

"Since your last adjournment Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the army. . . . With the retirement of General Scott came the executive duty of appointing in his stead a general-in-chief of the army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General McClellan is, therefore, in considerable degree the selection of the country as well as of the executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus by fair implication promised, and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve the country."

At this time Lincoln had every reason to believe that McClellan would soon move. The General certainly was so assuring the few persons whom he condescended to take into his confidence. The Hon. Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, Speaker of the House, says that very soon after Congress came to-

gether, the members began to comment on the number of board barracks that were going up around Washington.

"It seemed to them," says Mr. Grow, "that there were a great many more than were necessary for hospital and reserve purposes. The roads at that time in Virginia were excellent; everybody was eager for an advance. Congressmen observed the barracks with dismay; it looked as if McClellan was going into winter quarters. Finally several of them came to me and stated their anxiety, asking what it meant. 'Well, gentlemen,' I said, 'I don't know what it means, but I will ask the General,' so I went to McClellan, who received me kindly, and told him how all the members were feeling, and asked him if the army was really going into winter quarters. 'No, no,' McClellan said, 'I have no intention of putting the army into winter quarters; I mean the campaign shall be short, sharp, and decisive.' He began explaining his plan to me, but I interrupted him, saying I did not desire to know his plan; I preferred not to know it, in fact. If I could assure members of Congress that the army was going to move, it was all that was necessary. I returned with his assurance that there would soon be an advance. Weeks went on, however, without the promised advance; nor did the Army of the Potomac leave the vicinity of Washington until Mr. Lincoln issued the special orders compelling McClellan to move."

Lincoln continued to defend McClellan. "We've got to stand by the General," he told his visitors. "I suppose," he added dubiously, "he knows his business." But loyal as he was he too was losing patience. His friend, Mr. Arnold, tells how the President said one day to a friend of General McClellan, doubtless with the expectation that it would be repeated:

"McClellan's tardiness reminds me of a man in Illinois, whose attorney was not sufficiently aggressive. The client knew a few law phrases, and finally, after waiting until his patience was exhausted by the non-action of his counsel, he sprang to his feet and exclaimed: 'Why don't you go at him with a *Fi fa demurrer, a capias, a surrebutter,* or a *ne exeat,* or something, and not stand there like a *nudum pactum,* or a *non est?*' "

Later he made a remark which was repeated up and down the country: "If General McClellan does not want to use the army for some days, I should like to borrow it and see if it cannot be made to do something."

Towards the end of December McClellan fell ill. The long-expected advance was out of the question until he recovered. Distracted at this idea, the President for the first time asserted himself as commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States. Heretofore he had used his military authority principally in raising men and commissioning officers; campaigns he had left to the generals. It had been to be sure largely because of his urgency that the Battle of Bull Run had been fought. After Bull Run he had prepared a "Memorandum of Military Policy Suggested by the Bull Run Defeat," and may have thought the War Department was working according to this. When he relieved Frémont he had offered his successor a few suggestions, but he had been careful to add:

"Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and pass-

ing events, it is intended therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion."

Early in December, weary with waiting for McClellan, he had sent him a list of questions concerning the Potomac campaign. They were broad hints, but in no sense orders and McClellan hardly gave them a second thought. Nicolay and Hay say that after keeping them ten days, the General returned them with hurried answers in pencil. Certainly he was in no degree influenced by them. And this was about all the military authority—"interference" some critics called it—that the President had exercised up to the time McClellan was shut up by fever.

Now, however, he undertook to learn direct from the officers the condition things were in, and if it was not possible to get some work out of the army somewhere along the line. Particularly was he anxious that East Tennessee be relieved. The Unionists there were "being hanged and driven to despair," there was danger of them going over to the South. All this the generals knew. Lincoln telegraphed Halleck, then in command of the Western Department, and Buell, in charge of the forces in Kentucky, asking if they were "in concert" and urging a movement which he supposed to have been decided upon some time before. The replies he received disappointed and distressed him. There seemed to be no more idea of advancing in the West than in the East. The plans he supposed settled, his generals now controverted. He could get no promise of action, no precise information. "Delay is ruining us," he wrote to Buell

on January 7, "and it is indispensable for me to have something definite." And yet, convinced though he was that his plans were practicable, he would not make them into orders.

"For my own views," he wrote Buell on January 13, "I have not offered and do not offer them as orders; and while I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do. With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an over-match for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much."

This hesitancy about exercising his military authority came from Lincoln's consciousness that he knew next to nothing of the business of fighting. When he saw that those supposed to know something of the science did nothing, he resolved to learn the subject himself as thoroughly as he could. "He gave himself, night and day, to the study of the military situation," say Nicolay and Hay, his secretaries. "He read a large number of strategical works. He pored over the reports from the various departments and districts of the field of war. He held long conferences with eminent generals and admirals and

astonished them by the extent of his special knowedge and the keen intelligence of his questions."

By the time McClellan was about again, Lincoln had learned enough of the situation to convince him that the Army of the Potomac could and must advance, and on January 27, he, for the first time, used his power as commander-in-chief of the army, and issued his General War Order No. 1:

"Ordered, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the Army of Western Virginia; the army near Mumfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day.

"That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

"That the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order."

Four days later the President issued his first Special War Order, applying exclusively to the Army of the Potomac.

"Ordered, That all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad

southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction, all details to be in the discretion of the commander-in-chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22d day of February next."

For a time after these orders were issued there was general hopefulness in the country. The newspapers that had been attacking the President now praised him for taking hold of the army. "It has infused new spirit into every one since the President appears to take such an interest in our operations," wrote an officer from the West, to the "Tribune."

The hope of an advance in the East was short-lived. McClellan was not willing to carry out the plan for the campaign which the President approved. Mr. Lincoln believed that the Army of the Potomac should move directly across Virginia against Richmond, while McClellan contended that the safe and brilliant movement was down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana and across land to the York river. There was much controversy between the friends of the two plans. It ended in the President giving up to his general. Of one thing he felt certain; McClellan would not work as well on a plan in which he did not believe as on one to which he was committed, and as success was what Mr. Lincoln wanted he finally consented to the Chesapeake route. It brought bitter criticism upon him, especially from the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Common sense told men that the direct overland route to Richmond was the better. The President, they said, was afraid of his general-in-chief.

While harassed by this inaction and obstinacy of

McClellan's, Mr. Lincoln was plunged into a bitter private sorrow. Early in February his two younger boys, Willie and Tad, as they were familiarly known, fell sick. In the tenderness of his nature Mr. Lincoln could never see suffering of any kind without a passionate desire to relieve it. Especially was he moved by the distress of a child. Indeed his love for children had already become familiar to the whole public by the touching little stories which visitors had brought away from the White House and which crept into the newspapers.

"At the reception Saturday afternoon, at the President's house," wrote a correspondent of the "Independent," "many persons noticed three little girls, poorly dressed, the children of some mechanic or laboring man, who had followed the visitors into the White House to gratify their curiosity. They passed around from room to room, and were hastening through the reception room, with some trepidation, when the President called to them, 'Little girls, are you going to pass me without shaking hands?' Then he bent his tall, awkward form down and shook each little girl warmly by the hand. Everybody in the apartment was spellbound by the incident, so simple in itself."

Many men and women now living who were children in Washington at this time recall the President's gentleness to them. Mr. Frank P. Blair, of Chicago, says:

"During the war my grandfather, Francis P. Blair, Sr., lived at Silver Springs, north of Washington, seven miles from the White House. It was a magnificent place of four or five hundred acres, with an extensive lawn in the rear of the house. The grandchildren gathered there frequently.

There were eight or ten of us, our ages ranging from eight to twelve years. Although I was but seven or eight years of age, Mr. Lincoln's visits were of such importance to us boys as to leave a clear impression on my memory. He drove out to the place quite frequently. We boys, for hours at a time, played 'town ball' on the vast lawn, and Mr. Lincoln would join ardently in the sport. I remember vividly how he ran with the children; how long were his strides, and how far his coat-tails stuck out behind, and how we tried to hit him with the ball, as he ran the bases. He entered into the spirit of the play as completely as any of us, and we invariably hailed his coming with delight."

The protecting sympathy and tenderness the President extended to all children became a passionate affection for his own. Willie and Tad had always been privileged beings at the White House, and their pranks and companionship undoubtedly did much to relieve the tremendous strain the President was suffering. Many visitors who saw him with the lads at this period have recorded their impressions—how keenly he enjoyed the children; how indulgent and affectionate he was with them. Again and again he related their sayings, sometimes even to grave delegations. Thus Moncure Conway tells of going to see the President with a commission which wanted to "talk over the situation." The President met them, laughing like a boy. The White House was in a state of feverish excitement, he said; one of his boys had come in that morning to tell him that the cat had kittens, and now the other had just announced that the dog had puppies.

When both the children fell ill, when he saw them suffering, and when it became evident, as it finally

WILLIE LINCOLN, THIRD SON OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.
DIED FEBRUARY 20, 1862, AT THE AGE OF 12.

From a photograph taken by Brady at Washington, shortly before the death of Willie Lincoln.

did, that Willie, the elder of the two, would die, the President's anguish was intense. He would slip away from visitors and Cabinet at every opportunity to go to the sick room, and during the last four or five days of Willie's life, when the child was suffering terribly and lay in an unbroken delirium, Mr. Lincoln shared with the nurse the nightly vigils at the bedside. When Willie finally died, on February 20, the President was so prostrated that it was feared by many of his friends that he would succumb entirely to his grief. Many public duties he undoubtedly did neglect. Indeed, a month after Willie's death, we find him apologizing for delay to answer a letter because of a "domestic affliction."

If one consults the records of the day, however, it is evident that Mr. Lincoln did try to attend to public duties even in the worst of this trial. Only two days after the funeral, on February 23, he held a Cabinet meeting, and the day following that, a correspondent wrote to the New York "Evening Post":

> "Mr. Lincoln seems to have entirely recovered his health and is again at his ordinary duties, spending, not infrequently, eighteen out of the twenty-four hours upon the affairs of the nation. He is frequently called up three and four times in a night to receive important messages from the West. Since his late bereavement he looks sad and careworn, but is in very good health again."

There is abundant evidence that in this crushing grief the President earnestly sought whatever consolation the Christian religion might have for him.

It was not the first experience in his life which had driven him to look outside of his own mind and heart for help to endure a personal grief. It was not the first time that he had felt that he was not sufficient for his own experience. Twelve years before, in February, of 1850, he had lost his second son, a child then about three and a half years old, Edward Baker Lincoln—named after the friend whose death only four months before at Ball's Bluff had been a terrible shock to him.

The death of little "Ed," as the President always spoke of the child, undoubtedly caused the long period of depression which Mr. Lincoln went through after his return from Congress—a depression which many biographers have been inclined to explain solely by regret that his political career was, as he then believed, at an end. It was at that time that Mr. Lincoln began to study the evidences of Christianity more carefully than he ever had before. He had always been a reverent man. He had grown up in a society in which the Bible was the chief text-book. By its precepts every phase of human conduct and experience was tested. There is every evidence that Lincoln knew his Bible. You see the effect in the style of even his earliest writings. His ethical point of view was unquestionably formed by it, but it is improbable that the literal and often distorted teachings of the early church of the West ever made deep impressions upon his clear thinking mind.

He undoubtedly, too, as a youth and young man went through a period of doubt often distressful to him. There is a legend that he once prepared a

pamphlet in which he attempted to prove the falsity of the Christian system, but this is by no means certain. He never joined a church, but it is certain that by the time he was thirty years of age he regarded the Bible and the church with genuine reverence. After his marriage he became a regular attendant at religious services and one has only to read his letters and speeches to see how serious was his point of view.

After the death of his child in 1850, there is ample evidence that he began seriously to study the Christian religion, to see what support there might be in it for one going through such grief as his. The most important evidence of this comes from a Springfield clergyman, Dr. James Smith, a man of much learning, and the author of a book called "The Christian Defense." This book Dr. Smith put into Lincoln's hands and together they frequently discussed the contents. The story of Mr. Lincoln's experience at this time has been fully written by Dr. Smith, and there is no doubt that he believed that the man became a profound believer in the fundamentals of Christianity. There is other evidence to the same effect from friends of Lincoln, men of undoubted integrity, among them Jesse Fell of Bloomington, the man who had done so much to forward Lincoln's candidacy for the presidency.

After his election to the presidency evidences multiply that Mr. Lincoln was holding to the belief that the affairs of men are in the keeping of a Divine Being who hears and answers prayer and who is to be trusted to bring about the final triumph of the right.

He publicly acknowledged such a faith when he bade his Springfield friends good-by in February, 1861. In his first inaugural address, he told the country that the difficulty between North and South could be adjusted in "the best way," by "intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land." When he was obliged to summon a Congress to provide means for a civil war, he started them forth on their duties with the words, "Let us renew our trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts." In August, 1861, he issued a proclamation for a National Fast Day which is impressive for its reverential spirit:

"And whereas it is fit and becoming in all people, at all times, to acknowledge and revere the supreme government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisements; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions, in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action:

"And whereas when our own beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation, and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the re-establishment of law, order, and peace throughout the wide extent of our country; and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned under His guidance and blessing by the

labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence."

After the death of his son in February, 1862, we begin to find frequent proofs that Mr. Lincoln was making a personal test of Christianity. Broken by his anxiety for the country, wounded nigh to death by his loss, he felt that he must have a support outside of himself; that from some source he must draw new courage. Could he find the help he needed in the Christian faith? From this time on he was seen often with the Bible in his hand, and he is known to have prayed frequently. His personal relation to God constantly occupied his mind. He was deeply concerned to know, as he told a visiting delegation once, not whether the Lord was on his side, but whether he was on the Lord's side. Henceforth, one of the most real influences in Abraham Lincoln's life and conduct was his dependence upon a personal God.

CHAPTER XXV

LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION

THE 22d of February was the day that the President had set for an advance of the army, but it was evident to both the Administration and the country that the Army of the Potomac would not then be ready to move. Nor could anybody find from McClellan what he did propose to do. The muttering of the country began again. Committee after committee waited on the President. He did his best to assure them that he was doing all he could. He pointed out to them how time and patience, as well as men and money, were needed in war, and he argued that, above all, he must not be interfered with. It was at this time that he used his striking illustration of Blondin. Some gentlemen from the West called at the White House one day, excited and troubled about some of the commissions or omissions of the Administration. The President heard them patiently and then replied:

"Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold and you had put it in the hands of Blondin, to carry across the Niagara River on a rope. Would you shake the cable or keep shouting at him, 'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south'? No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government is carrying an enormous weight. Untold

treasures are in their hands; they are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we will get you safe across."

One of the most insistent of the many bodies which beset him was the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, appointed the December before. Aggressive and patriotic, these gentlemen were determined the army should move. But it was not until March that they became convinced that anything would be done. One day early in that month, Senator Chandler, of Michigan, a member of the committee, met George W. Julian. He was in high glee. "Old Abe is mad," he said to Julian, "and the war will now go on."

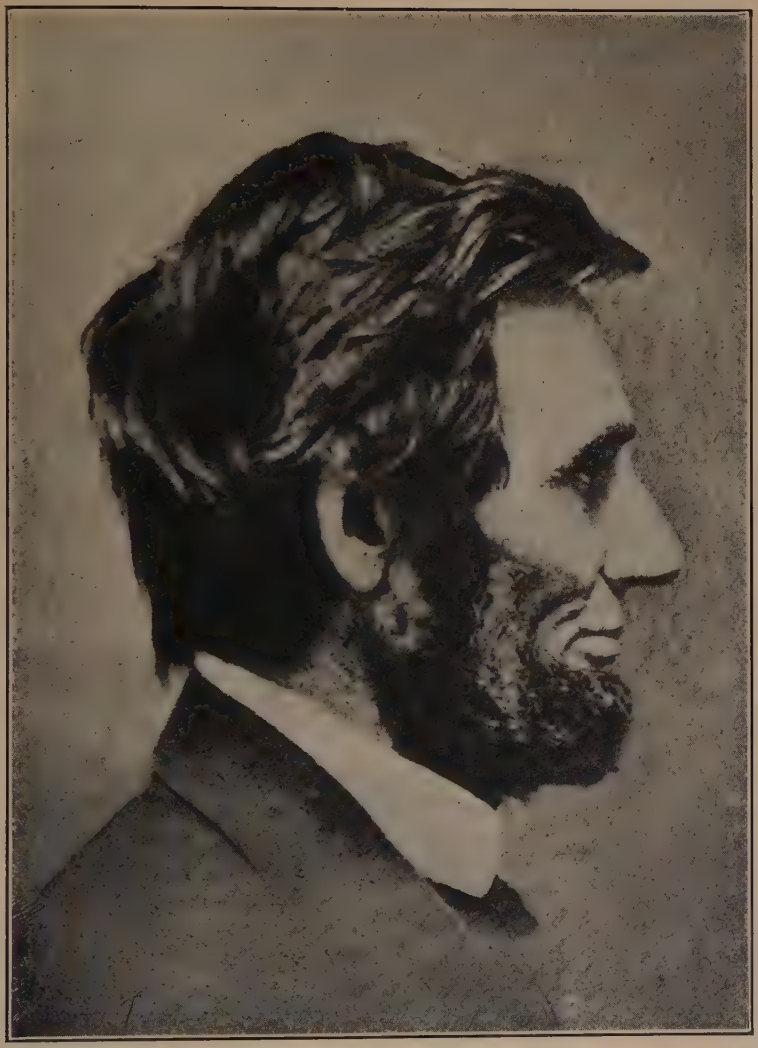
Whether it would or not remained to be seen, but it was soon evident to everybody that the President was going to make another effort to have it go on for on March 8 he issued General War Orders Nos. II and III, the first dividing the Army of the Potomac into four army corps and the second directing that the move against Richmond by the way of the Chesapeake Bay should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the general-in-chief should be responsible for its moving as early as that day. In this order Lincoln made the important stipulation that General McClellan should make no change of base without leaving in and about Washington a force sufficient to guarantee its safety.

When Lincoln issued the above orders, which were finally to drive McClellan from his quarters around Washington, the war against the South had been going on for nearly a year. In that time the North

had succeeded in gathering and equipping an army of about 630,000 men, but this army had not so far materially changed the line of hostilities between the North and South, save in the West, where Kentucky and northern Missouri had been cleared of most of the Confederates. A navy had been collected, but beyond establishing a partial blockade of the ports of the Confederacy it had done little. The ineffectiveness of the great effort the North had made was charged naturally to the inefficiency of the Administration. Mr. Lincoln was ignorant and weak, men said, else he would have found generals who would have won victories. A large part of the North, the anti-slavery element, bitterly denounced him, because he had taken no action as yet in regard to slavery. They would have him employ the slaves in the armies, free those who escaped.

Lincoln understood clearly how strong a weapon against the South the arming and emancipating of the slaves might be, but he did not want to use it. Throughout his entire political life he had disclaimed any desire to meddle with slavery in the states where the Constitution recognized it. He had undertaken the war not to free men but to preserve the Union. Moreover he feared that the least interference with slavery would drive from him those states lying between the North and South, which believed in the institution and yet were for the Union.

Already they had given him much substantial aid. He hoped to win them entirely to the North. Emancipation would surely make that hope vain. It was largely because he wished to keep their support that



From a photograph loaned by Mr. Frank A. Brown of Minneapolis, Minnesota. This beautiful photograph was taken, probably in 1861, by Alexander Hesler of Chicago. It was used by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor, in his studies of Lincoln.

when, as had happened twice already in his year of service, prominent subordinates had attempted to help the Northern cause by measures affecting slavery, he had promptly annulled their orders.

Yet now for many weeks he had been coming to the conclusion that he must do something with this weapon. He must do it to throw confusion into the South, with whom so far the military advantage lay, to win sympathy from Europe, which, exasperated by the suffering which the failure to get cotton caused the people, was threatening to recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent nation, above all to disarm the enemy in his rear—the dissatisfied faction of his own supporters who were beginning to threaten that if he did not free and arm the slaves he could get his hands on, they would stop the arms and money they were sending him to carry on the war.

All through the fall of 1861 he was examining this weapon of emancipation, much as a man in a desperate situation might a dagger which he did not want to unsheath, but feared he might be forced to. He was seeking a way to use it, if the time came when he must, that would accomplish all the ends he had in view and still would not drive the Border States from the Union. The plan upon which he finally settled was a simple and just one—he would ask Congress to set aside money gradually to buy and free the negroes in those states that could be persuaded to give up the institution of slavery. Having freed the slaves, he proposed that Congress should colonize them in territory bought for the purpose.

According to Charles Sumner, Mr. Lincoln had this plan of compensated emancipation well developed by December 1, 1861. The Senator reached Washington on that day and went in the evening to call on the President. Together they talked over the annual message, which was to be sent to Congress on the 3d. Mr. Sumner was disappointed that it said nothing about emancipation. He had been speaking in Massachusetts on "Emancipation Our Best Weapon," and he ardently desired that the President use the weapon. The President explained the plan he had developed, and Mr. Sumner urged that it be presented at once. Mr. Lincoln declined to agree to this, but as he rose to say good-by to his visitor, he remarked:

"Well, Mr. Sumner, the only difference between you and me on this subject is a difference of a month or six weeks in time."

"Mr. President," said Mr. Sumner, "if that is the only difference between us, I will not say another word to you about it till the long-set time you name has passed by."

"Nor should I have done so," continues Sumner in telling the story, "but about a fortnight after, when I was with him, he introduced the subject himself, asked my opinion on some details of his plan, and told me where it labored his mind. At that time he had the hope that some one of the Border States, Delaware, perhaps, if nothing better could be got, might be brought to make a proposition which could be made use of as the initiation to hitch the whole thing to.* He was in correspondence with some persons

* The conversation between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Sumner here reported is taken from a manuscript courteously put at my disposal by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Mr. Hale visited Washington in April, 1862, and called on Mr. Sumner, who entertained him with the history of the President's Message on Compensated Emancipation. He made the full notes of the story, which are here published.

at a distance with this view, but he did not consult a person in Washington, excepting Mr. Chase and Mr. Blair, and myself. Seward knew nothing about it."

Sumner could not keep still, after this, about the plan. Almost every time he saw Lincoln he put in a word. Thus, when the *Trent* affair was up, he took occasion to read the President a little lecture:

"Now, Mr. President," he said, "if you had done your duty earlier in the slavery matter, you would not have this trouble on you. Now you have no friends, or the country has none, because it has no policy upon slavery. The country has no friends in Europe, excepting isolated persons. England is not a friend. France is not. But if you had commenced your policy about slavery, this thing could and would have come and gone and would have given you no anxiety. . . .

"Every time I saw him I spoke to him about it, and I saw him every two or three days. One day I said to him, I remember, 'I want you to make Congress a New Year's present of your plan.' But he had some reason still for delay. He was in correspondence with Kentucky, there was a Mr. Speed in Kentucky to whom he was writing; he read me one of his letters once, and he thought he should hear from there how people would be affected by such a plan. At one time I thought he would send in the message on New Year's Day; and I said something about what a glorious thing it would be. But he stopped me in a moment; 'Don't say a word about that,' he said, 'I know very well that the name which is connected with this act will never be forgotten.' Well, there was one delay and another, but I always spoke to him till one day in January he said sadly that he had been up all night with his sick child. I was very much touched, and I resolved that I would say nothing to the President about this or any other business if I could help it till that child was well or dead. And I did not. . . . I had never

said a word to him again about it—one morning here, before I had breakfast, before I was up indeed, both his secretaries came over to say that he wanted to see me as soon as I could see him. I dressed at once and went over. 'I want to read you my message,' he said; 'I want to know how you like it. I am going to send it in to-day.'"

It was on the morning of March 6, 1862, that Mr. Lincoln sent for Mr. Sumner to read his message. A few hours later, when the Senator reached the Capitol, he went to the Senate desk to see if the President had carried out his intention. Yes, the document was there.

As Mr. Sumner's history of the message given to Dr. Hale shows, Mr. Lincoln for months quietly prepared the way for his plan. One of his most adroit preparatory manœuvers, was performed in New York City, through the Hon. Carl Schurz, who at that time was the American Minister to Spain.*

Mr. Schurz, who had gone to Madrid in 1861, had not been long there before he concluded that there would be great danger of the Southern Confederacy being recognized by France and England unless the aspect of the situation was speedily changed, either by a decisive military success or by some evidence on the part of the Administration that the war was to end in the destruction of slavery. If the conflict were put on this high moral plane, Mr. Schurz believed the sympathy of the people in Europe would be so strong with the North that interference in fa-

* The following accounts of Mr. Schurz's interviews with Mr. Lincoln and the plan the two gentlemen arranged for introducing the subject of compensated emancipation to the public was given me by Mr. Schurz himself. The manuscript was corrected by him, and published with his permission.

vor of the South would be impossible. All of this he wrote to Mr. Seward in September of 1861, but he received no other reply to his letter than a formal acknowledgment.

After a little time, Mr. Schurz wrote to Mr. Lincoln, saying that he wanted to come to Washington and personally represent to the Administration what he conceived to be the true nature of public opinion in Europe. Mr. Lincoln wrote to him to come, and he arrived in Washington in the last week of January, 1862. He went at once to the White House, where he was received by the President, who listened attentively to his arguments, the same he had made by letter to Mr. Seward. When he had finished his presentation of the case, Mr. Lincoln said that he was inclined to accept that view, but that he was not sure that the public sentiment of the country was ripe for such a policy. It had to be educated up to it. Would not Mr. Schurz go to New York and talk the matter over with their friends, some of whom he named?

Mr. Schurz assented, and a few days afterwards reported to Mr. Lincoln that the organization of an "Emancipation Society," for the purpose of agitating the idea, had been started in New York, and that a public meeting would be held at the Cooper Union on March 6.

"That's it; that is the very thing," Mr. Lincoln replied. "You must make a speech at this meeting. Go home and prepare it. When you have got it outlined, bring it to me, and I will see what you are going to say."

Mr. Schurz did so, and in a few days submitted to Mr. Lincoln the skeleton of his argument on "Emancipation as a Peace Measure."

"That is the right thing to say," the President declared after reading it, "and, remember, you may hear from me on the same day."

On March 6 the speech was delivered, as had been arranged, before an audience which packed Cooper Union. No more logical and eloquent appeal for emancipation was made in all the war period. The audience received it with repeated cheers, and when Mr. Schurz sat down "the applause shook the hall," if we may believe the reporter of the New York "Tribune." Just as the meeting was adjourning, Mr. Schurz did hear from Mr. Lincoln, a copy of the message given that afternoon to Congress being placed in his hands. He at once read it to the audience, which, already thoroughly aroused, now broke out again in a "tremendous burst of applause."

The first effect of the message was to unite the radical supporters of Mr. Lincoln with the more moderate. "We are all brought by the common-sense message upon the same platform," said "Harper's Weekly." "The cannon shot against Fort Sumter effaced three-fourths of our political lines; the President's message has wiped out the remaining fourth." But to Mr. Lincoln's keen disappointment, the Border State representatives in Congress let the proposition pass in silence. He saw one and another of them, but not a word did they say of the message. The President stood this for four days, then he sum-

moned them to the White House to explain his position.

The talk was long and entirely friendly. The President said he did not pretend to disguise his anti-slavery feeling; that he thought slavery was wrong and should continue to think so; but that was not the question they had to deal with. Slavery existed, and that, too, as well by the act of the North as of the South; and in any scheme to get rid of it, the North as well as the South was morally bound to do its full and equal share. He thought the institution wrong and ought never to have existed; but yet he recognized the rights of property which had grown out of it, and would respect those rights as fully as similar rights in any other property. Slavery did legally exist. He thought such a law wrong, but that the rights of property resulting must be respected; he would get rid of the odious law, not by violating the right, but by offering inducements to give it up. The representatives assured Mr. Lincoln before they left that they believed him to be "moved by a high patriotism and sincere devotion to the happiness and glory of his country"; they promised him to "consider respectfully" the suggestions he had made, but it must have been evident to the President that they either had little sympathy with his plan or that they believed it would receive no favor from their constituents.

Although the message failed to arouse the Border States, it did stimulate the anti-slavery party in Congress to complete several practical measures. Acts of Congress were rapidly approved forbidding the

army and navy to aid in the return of fugitive slaves, recognizing the independence of Liberia and Haiti, and completing a treaty with Great Britain to suppress slave trading. One of the most interesting of the acts which followed close on the message of March 6 emancipated *immediately* all the slaves in the District of Columbia. One million dollars was appropriated by Congress to pay the loyal slaveholders of the District for their loss, and $100,000 was set aside to pay the expenses of such negroes as desired to emigrate to Haiti or Liberia.

The Administration was now committed to compensated emancipation, but there were many radicals who grew restive at the slow working of the measure. They began again to call for more trenchant use of the weapon in Lincoln's hand. The commander of the Department of the South, General David Hunter, in his zeal, even issued an order declaring:

"Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible; the persons in . . . Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free."

Mr. Lincoln's first knowledge of this proclamation came to him through the newspapers. He at once pronounced it void. At the same time he made a declaration at which a man less courageous, one less confident in his own policy, would have hesitated —a declaration of his intention that no one but himself should decide how the weapon in his hand was to be used:

"I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any state or states free, and whether, at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field."

It was a public display of a trait of Mr. Lincoln of which the country had already several examples. He made his own decisions, trusted his own judgment as a final authority.

In revoking Hunter's order Mr. Lincoln again appealed to the Border States to accept his plan of buying and freeing their slaves, and, as if to warn them that the unauthorized step which Hunter had dared to take might yet be forced upon the administration, he said:

"I do not argue—I beseech you to make arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort, in all past time, as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it."

The President's treatment of Hunter's order dissatisfied many who had been temporarily quieted by the message of March 6. Again they besought the

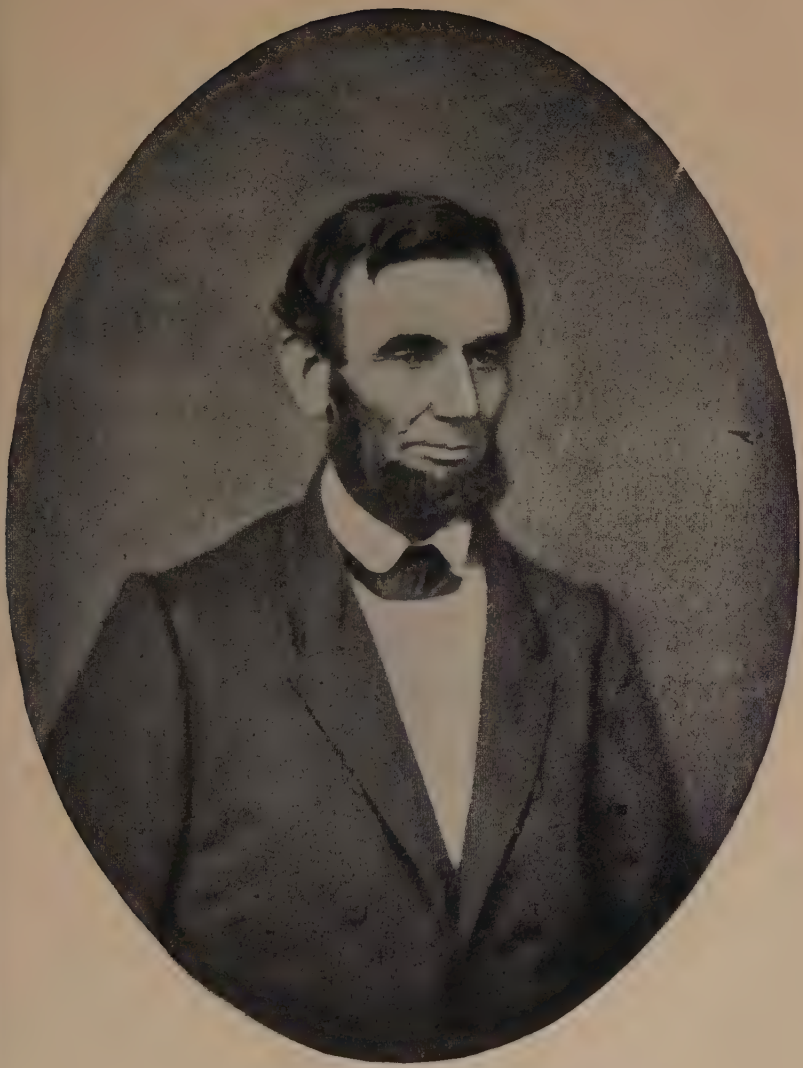
President to emancipate and arm the slaves. The authority and magnitude of the demand became such that Mr. Lincoln fairly staggered under it. Still he would not yield. He could not give up yet his hope of a more peaceful and just system of emancipation. But while he could not do what was asked of him, he seems to have felt that it was possible that he was wrong, and that another man in his place would be able to see the way. In a remarkable interview held early in the summer with several Republican senators, among whom was the Hon. James Harlan, of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, the President actually offered to resign and let Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President, initiate the policy.*

The senators went to Mr. Lincoln to urge upon him the paramount importance of mustering slaves into the Union army. They argued that as the war was really to free the negro, it was only fair that he should take his part in working out his own salvation. Mr. Lincoln listened thoughtfully to every argument, and then replied:

"Gentlemen, I have put thousands of muskets into the hands of loyal citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Western North Carolina. They have said they could defend themselves, if they had guns. I have given them the guns. Now, these men do not believe in mustering in the negro. If I do it, these thousands of muskets will be turned against us. We should lose more than we should gain."

The gentlemen urged other considerations, among them that it was not improbable that Europe, which

* The account of this interview was given to me by Judge Harlan, and was corrected by him before his death.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1861.

When Lincoln was visiting Joshua F. Speed in 1841, Mrs. Speed, the mother of his friend, became much interested in him. His melancholy was profound, and she tried by kindness and gentleness to arouse him to new interest in life. One day before his departure she asked one of her daughters for the latter's Oxford Bible, telling her she wanted it for Mr. Lincoln, and promising to get another in its place. The gift touched Lincoln deeply, and after he became President he remembered the giver with the above portrait—one he had taken especially for her, he wrote.

was anti-slavery in sentiment, but yet sympathized with the notion of a Southern Confederacy, preferring two nations to one in this country, would persuade the South to free her slaves in consideration of recognition. After they had exhausted every argument, Mr. Lincoln answered them:

"Gentlemen," he said, "I can't do it. I can't see it as you do. You may be right, and I may be wrong; but I'll tell you what I can do; I can resign in favor of Mr. Hamlin. Perhaps Mr. Hamlin could do it."

The senators, amazed at this proposition, "which," says Senator Harlan, "was made with the greatest seriousness, and of which not one of us doubted the sincerity," hastened to assure the President that they could not consider such a step on his part; that he stood where he could see all around the horizon; that he must do what he thought right; that, in any event, he must not resign.

If at this juncture McClellan had given the President a successful campaign it is probable that the radicals would have been more patient with the measure for compensated emancipation. The Border States, seeing an overthrow of the Confederacy imminent, might have hastened to avail themselves of it. But McClellan was giving the President little but anxiety. He had undertaken the long deferred campaign against Richmond at the beginning of April, but had begun by disobeying the clause of the President's order which instructed him to leave enough troops around Washington to insure its safety. When he arrived in the Peninsula he began to for-

tify his position as if he were entering on a defensive instead of offensive campaign, and it was only after repeated probing by the Administration that he advanced. Every mile of his route towards Richmond was made only after urgent pleas and orders from the President and the Secretary of War and bitter complaints and forebodings on his part.

Mr. Lincoln's attitude towards his general-in-chief in this trying spring of 1862 is a most interesting study. He evidently had determined to exercise fully his power as commander-in-chief, to force McClellan into battle and to compel him to carry out the orders which he as chief executive gave. Conscious of his ignorance of military matters and anxious to avoid errors, he exhausted every source of information on the army and its movements. Secretary Stanton himself did not watch the Army of the Potomac more closely in this campaign than did President Lincoln. Indeed, of the three rooms occupied by the military telegraph office at the War Department, one came to be called the "President's room," so much time did he spend there. During a part of the war, this room was occupied by Mr. A. B. Chandler, afterwards the president of the Postal Telegraph Union.

"I was alone in this room," says Mr. Chandler, "and as few people came there to see me, Mr. Lincoln could be alone. He used to say, 'I come here to escape my persecutors. Many people call and say they want to see me for only a minute. That means, if I can hear their story and grant their request in a minute, it will be enough.' My desk was a large one with a flat top and intended to be occupied on

both sides. Mr. Lincoln ordinarily took the chair opposite mine at this desk. Here he would read over the telegrams received for the several heads of departments, all of which came to this office. It was the practice to make three copies of all messages received, to whomsoever addressed. One of these was what we called a 'hard copy,' and was saved for the records of the War Department; two carbon copies were made by stylus, on yellow tissue paper, one for Mr. Lincoln and one for Mr. Stanton. Mr. Lincoln's copies were kept in what we called the 'President's drawer' of the 'cipher desk.' He would come in at any time of the night or day, and go at once to this drawer, and take out a file of the telegrams, and begin at the top to read them. His position in running over these telegrams was sometimes very curious. He had a habit of sitting frequently on the edge of his chair, with his right knee dragged down to the floor. I remember a curious expression of his when he got to the bottom of the new telegrams and began on those that he had read before. It was, 'Well, I guess I have got down to the raisins.' The first two or three times he said this he made no explanation, and I did not ask one. But one day, after the remark, he looked up under his eyebrows at me with a funny twinkle in his eyes, and said, 'I used to know a little girl out West who sometimes was inclined to eat too much. One day she ate a good many more raisins than she ought to, and followed them up with a quantity of other goodies. It made her very sick. After a time the raisins began to come. She gasped and looked at her mother, and said, "Well, I will be better now, I guess, for I have got down to the raisins." '

"Mr. Lincoln frequently wrote telegrams in my office. His method of composition was slow and laborious. It was evident that he thought out what he was going to say before he touched his pen to the paper. He would sit looking out

of the window, his left elbow on the table, his hand scratching his temple, his lips moving, and frequently he spoke the sentence aloud or in a half whisper. After he was satisfied that he had the proper expression, he would write it out. If one examines the originals of Mr. Lincoln's telegrams and letters, he will find very few erasures and very little interlining. This was because he had them definitely in his mind before writing them. In this he was the exact opposite of Mr. Stanton, who wrote with feverish haste, often scratching out words and interlining frequently. Sometimes he would seize a sheet which he had filled and impatiently tear it into pieces."

It is only necessary to examine the letters and telegrams Lincoln sent to McClellan in the campaign of 1862 to appreciate the rare patience and still rarer firmness and common sense with which he was handling his hard military problems. As has been said, McClellan began his campaign by disobeying the order to leave Washington fully guarded. The President learning this kept back a corps of the army. McClellan protested, but Lincoln would not give up the force. "Do you really think," he wrote McClellan, "I should permit the line from Richmond via Manassas Junction to this city to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than 20,000 unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade."

When it became evident that McClellan did not intend to advance promptly, the President made a vigorous protest.

"Once more let me tell you it is indispensable to you that you should strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, was only shifting, and not surmounting, a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy and the same or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.

"I beg to assure you that I have never written you or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can; but you must act."

McClellan did act, but with such caution that he consumed all of April and most of May in working his way up the Peninsula to Richmond. Every move he made was under protest that his force was too small and with incessant complaint that the Administration was not supporting him. Towards the end of May when an extra corps, that of McDowell, was on its way to Richmond to co-operate with McClellan the Administration became alarmed by a threatened attack on Washington and recalled McDowell. The most intelligent military authorities criticise Mr. Lincoln for withdrawing this force just as the attack on the Confederates was at last to be made. It was an honest enough error on the President's part. He believed the capital in danger. He knew too that with 98,000 men present for duty McClellan ought to be able to take care of himself. The general-in-chief, however, regarded this interference with his

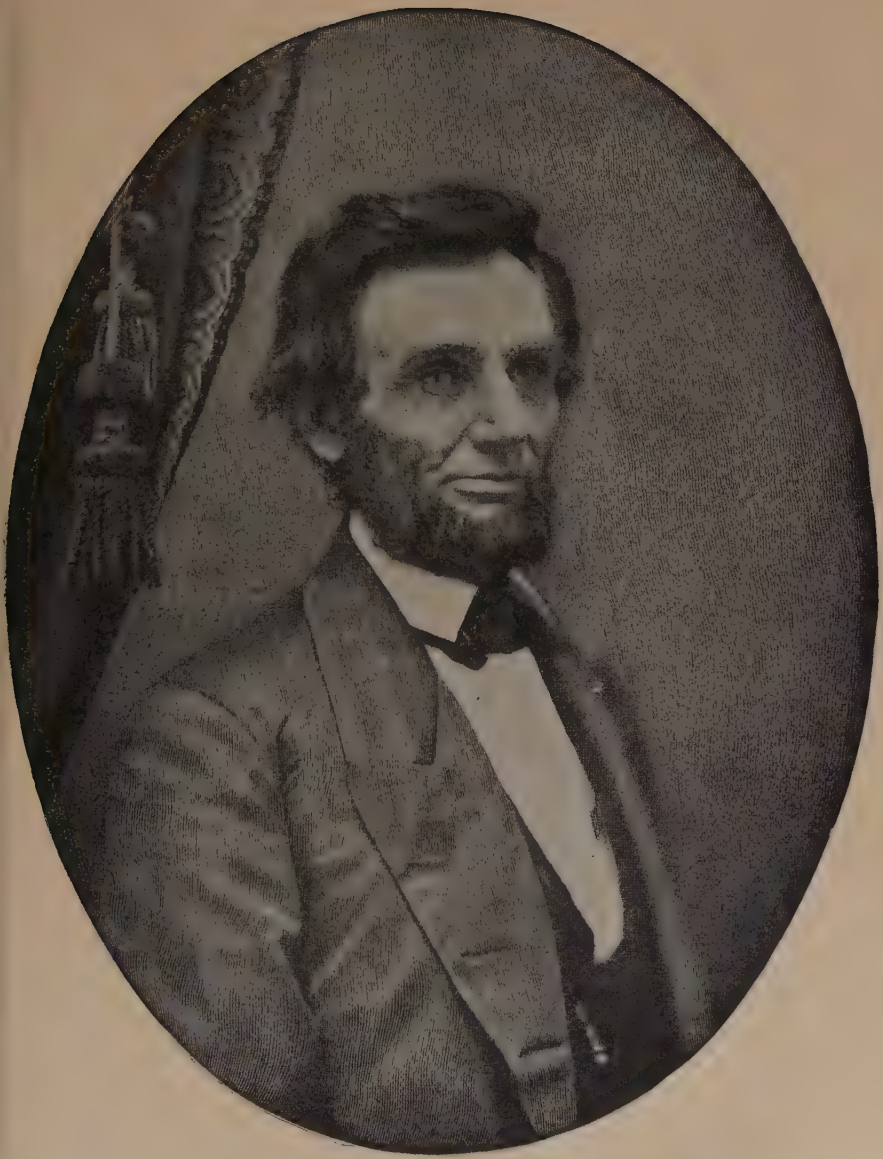
plans as added proof that the President did not intend to support him, wished his overthrow, and he sent the bitterest complaints to Washington. The President wrote him on May 25 full explanations of the situation as he saw it and begged him to go ahead and do his best.

"If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach," he said, "we should be utterly helpless. Apprehension of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's force from you. Please understand this and do the best you can with the force you have."

Three days later, after the fighting for Richmond had really begun, he telegraphed him, "I am painfully impressed with the importance of the struggle before you and shall aid you all I can consistently with my view of due regard to all points."

And through the month following while McClellan was engaged in the series of battles by which he hoped to get into Richmond the President did sustain him in every way he could, sending him troops as he could get them, counselling him whenever he saw a weak point, encouraging him after every engagement. The result of the campaign was disastrous. After working his way to within a few miles of Richmond McClellan was forced back to the James River, and in a burst of bitter despair he telegraphed to Washington:

"If, at this instant I could dispose of ten thousand fresh men, I could gain a victory to-morrow. I know that a few thousand more men would have changed this battle from



LINCOLN IN 1861. AGE 52.

From a photograph taken at Springfield, Illinois, early in 1861, by C. S. German, and owned by Allen Jasper Conant.

a defeat to a victory. As it is, the Government must not and cannot hold me responsible for the result. I feel too earnestly to-night; I have seen too many dead and wounded comrades to feel otherwise than that the Government has not sustained this army. If you do not do so now, the game is lost. If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army."

"Save your army at all events," Lincoln replied. "Will send re-enforcements as fast as we can. Of course they cannot reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed re-enforcements. I thought you were ungenerous in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle, or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington, and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops could have gotten to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that re-enforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the Government are to blame. Please tell at once the present condition and aspect of things."

This was June 28. Mr. Lincoln hoped that McClellan might yet recover his position, but the developments of the next two days showed him the campaign was a failure. It was a terrible blow. "When the Peninsula campaign terminated suddenly at Harrison's Landing," Mr. Lincoln said once to a friend who asked him if he had ever despaired of his country, "I was as nearly inconsolable as I could be and live."

But he neither faltered nor blamed. He bade McClellan "find a place of security and wait and rest and repair," to maintain his ground if he could, but to save his army even if he fell back to Fort Monroe. And he went to work to bring light into about as black a situation as a President ever faced. His first duty was to ask men of the sorrowing and angry country. The War Department had felt so certain in April when McClellan started on the Peninsula campaign it had force enough to finish the war that recruiting had been stopped. Now a new call was made for 300,000 men for three years.

In order to learn the situation of the Army of the Potomac more exactly than he could from McClellan's despairing and often contradictory letters and telegrams, the President himself went to Harrison's Landing in July. The first and important result of his visit was that it fixed his determination to do something immediately about emancipation. He was convinced that he was not going to have military encouragement soon to offer his supporters. But he must show them some fruits of their efforts, some sign that the men and money they were pouring into "McClellan's trap," as it was beginning to be called, were not lost; that the new call for 300,000 men just made was not to be in vain. There was nothing to do but use emancipation in some way as a weapon, and he summoned the representatives of the Border States to the White House on July 12, and made an earnest, almost passionate, appeal to them to consider his proposition of March 6.

It is doubtful if Mr. Lincoln in all his political career ever had a measure more at heart than his scheme for compensated emancipation. Isaac Arnold, who knew him well, says that rarely, if ever, was he known to manifest such solicitude as over this measure.

"Oh, how I wish the Border States would accept my proposition," he said to Arnold and Owen Lovejoy one day; "then you, Lovejoy, and you, Arnold, and all of us would not have lived in vain. The labor of your life, Lovejoy, would be crowned with success. You would live to see the end of slavery."

"Could you have seen the President," wrote Sumner once to a friend, "as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the states, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Haiti and Liberia, even your zeal would have been satisfied.

"*His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own.* In familiar intercourse with him I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery."

His address to the Border States representatives on July 12 is full of this conviction:

"I intend no reproach or complaint," he said, "when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual-emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the

plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the states which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the states you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own states. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever. . . . If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your states will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event!

. . . . . .

"I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be free. He proclaimed all men free within certain states, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offense, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can

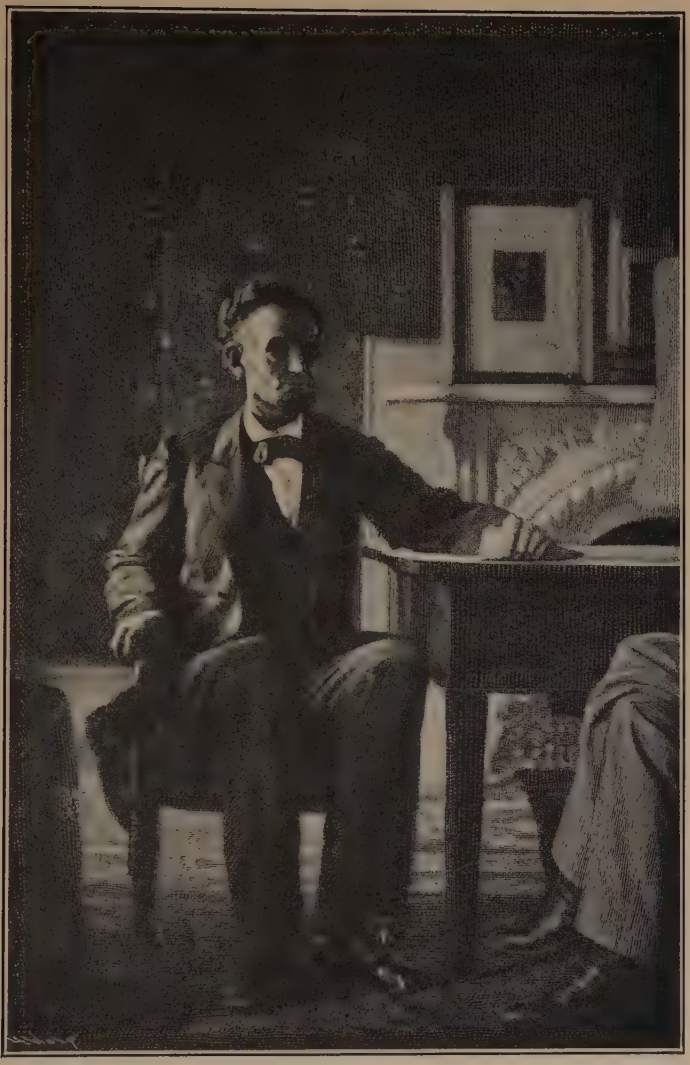
relieve the country in this important point. . . . Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring it speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever."

The majority of the Border States representatives rejected the President's appeal. Now Mr. Lincoln never came to a point in his public career where he did not have a card in reserve, and he never lacked the courage to play it if he was forced to. "I must save this government if possible," he said, now that his best efforts for compensated emancipation were vain. "What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed." Just what his "available card" was he hinted to Secretary Seward and Secretary Welles the very day after his interview with the Border States representatives. He had about come to the conclusion, he said, that he must free the slaves by proclamation or be himself subdued. "It was a new departure for the President," writes Welles in his Diary, "for until this time, in all our previous interviews whenever the question of emancipation or the mitigation of slavery had been in any way alluded to, he had been prompt and emphatic in denouncing any interference by the General Government with the institution."

It was probably very shortly after this that a curious interview took place between Mr. Lincoln and his old and intimate friend, Leonard Swett, which shows admirably the struggle in the President's mind. The story of this interview Mr. Swett used to tell often to his friends, and it is through the courtesy of one of them, the Hon. Peter Stenger Grosscup, United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Judicial Circuit, that it is given here:

"One day, during the course of the war, when Mr. Swett was at his home in Bloomington, Illinois, he received a telegram asking him to come immediately to the President. The second morning afterwards found him in Washington. Thinking that something unusual was at hand, he went to the White House upon arrival and before eating his breakfast. Mr. Lincoln asked him immediately into the cabinet room, and after making a few inquiries about mutual friends in Illinois, pulled up his chair to a little cabinet of drawers. Swett, of course, awaited in silence the developments. Opening a drawer, Lincoln took out a manuscript which, he said, was a letter from William Lloyd Garrison, and which he proceeded to read. It proved to be an eloquent and passionate appeal for the immediate emancipation of the slaves. It recalled the devotion and loyalty of the North, but pointed out, with something like peremptoriness, that unless some step was taken to cut out by the roots the institution of slavery, the expectations of the North would be disappointed and its ardor correspondingly cooled. It went into the moral wrong that lay at the bottom of the war and insisted that the war could not, in the nature of things, be ended until the wrong was at an end. The letter throughout was entirely characteristic of Garrison.

"Laying it back without comment, Mr. Lincoln took out another, which proved to be a letter from Garrett Davis, of Kentucky. It, too, treated of emancipation; but from the



PRESIDENT LINCOLN IN THE CABINET ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE, WHERE THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION WAS SIGNED.

From a photograph by Brady, in the Civil War collection of Mr. Robert Coster. The original was almost destroyed, hence the reproduction is very indistinct. In the room shown in the picture, cabinet meetings were held from the beginning of Polk's administration to the close of Lincoln's, and on the table at which Mr. Lincoln is sitting the Proclamation of Emancipation was signed by him. The figure partially shown on the right is that of Mr. F. B. Carpenter, under whose direction the photograph was taken, as a study for his painting, "The Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation," now in the Capitol of Washington. On the left is partially shown the figure of Mr. J. G. Nicolay, the President's private secretary.

Border State point of view. It carefully balanced the martial and moral forces of the North and South and pointed out that if the Border States, now divided almost equally between the belligerents, were thrown unitedly to the South, a conclusion of the war favorable to the North would be next to impossible. It then proceeded to recall that slavery was an institution of these Border States with which their people had grown familiar and upon which much of their prosperity was founded. Emancipation, especially emancipation without compensation, would, in that quarter of the country, be looked upon as a stab at prosperity and a departure from the original Union purposes of the war. It begged Mr. Lincoln to be led by the Northern abolition sentiment into no such irretrievable mistake.

"Laying this back, Mr. Lincoln took out another, which turned out to be from a then prominent Swiss statesman, a sympathizer with the Northern cause, but whose name I cannot recall. It breathed all through an ardent wish that the North should succeed. The writer's purpose was to call attention to the foreign situation and the importance of preventing foreign intervention. This he summed up as follows: The governing classes in England and Napoleon in France were favorable to the success of the Confederacy. They were looking for a pretext upon which to base some sort of intervention. Anything that, in international law, would justify intervention would be quickly utilized. A situation justifying such a pretext must be avoided. The writer then pointed out that from the earliest times any interference with the enemy's slaves had been regarded as a cruel and improper expedient; that emancipation would be represented to Europe as an equivalent of inciting slave insurrection; and would be seized upon, the writer feared, as a pretext upon which forcibly to intervene. The letter went over the whole foreign situation, bringing out clearly this phase of the consequences of emancipation.

"Laying this letter back, the President turned to Mr. Swett and, without a word of inquiry, took up himself the

subject of emancipation, not only in the phases pointed out by the letters just read, but every possible phase and consequence under which it could be considered. For more than an hour he debated the situation, first the one side and then the other of every question arising. His manner did not indicate that he wished to impress his views *upon* his hearer, but rather to weigh and examine them for his own enlightenment *in the presence* of his hearer. It was an instance of stating conclusions aloud, not that they might convince another, or be combated by him, but that the speaker might see for himself how they looked when taken out of the region of mere reflection and embodied in words. The President's deliverance was so judicial, and so free from the quality of debate, or appearance of a wish to convince, that Mr. Swett felt himself to be, not so much a hearer of Lincoln's views, as a witness of the President's mental operations. The President was simply framing his thought in words, under the eye of his friend, that he might clear up his own mind.

"When the President concluded, he asked for no comment and made no inquiry, but, rising, expressed his hope that Mr. Swett would get home safely and entrusted to him some messages to their mutual friends. The audience thus ended."

Mr. Lincoln had, no doubt, determined at this time on the Emancipation Proclamation, perhaps had in his drawer, with the letters he read to Mr. Swett, the original draft which, as he afterwards told Mr. F. B. Carpenter, he prepared "without consultation with or the knowledge of the cabinet." It was on July 22 that, "after much anxious thought," he called a cabinet meeting to consider the subject.

"I said to the cabinet," the President told Mr. Carpenter, "that I had resolved upon this step and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject matter of a proclamation before them; suggestions as to which would be in order, after they had heard it read."

The gist of the proclamation which Mr. Lincoln read to the cabinet was that, on the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state or states where in the constitutional authority of the United States should not then be practically recognized, should "then, thenceforward, and forever be free." He called his proclamation "a fit and necessary military measure," and prefaced it by declaring that, upon the next meeting of Congress, he intended to recommend a practical plan for giving pecuniary aid to any state which by that time had adopted "gradual abolishment of slavery."

The cabinet seems to have been bewildered by the sweeping proposition of the President. Nicolay and Hay quote a memorandum of the meeting made by Secretary Stanton, in which he says: "The measure goes beyond anything I have recommended." Mr. Lincoln, in his account of the meeting given to Mr. Carpenter, says:

"Various suggestions were offered. . . . Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance: 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea was that it would be considered our last *shriek*, on the retreat. 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until

you can give it to the country, supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!' The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thoughts upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously waiting the progress of events."

The victory Mr. Lincoln waited for was long in coming. Disaster after disaster followed. Each new delay or failure only intensified the radical anti-slavery sentiment and made the demand for emancipation more emphatic and threatening. The culmination of this dissatisfaction was an editorial signed by Horace Greeley and printed in the New York "Tribune" of August 20, entitled, "The Prayer of 20,000,000"—two columns of bitter and unjust accusations and complaints addressed to Mr. Lincoln, charging him with "ignoring, disregarding, and defying" the laws already enacted against slavery.

Mr. Lincoln answered it in a letter published in the "National Intelligencer" of Washington, August 23. The document challenges comparison with the State papers of all times and all countries for its lucidity and its courage:

"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the

Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views."

The "Greeley faction," as it was called, not only pursued Mr. Lincoln through the press and pulpit and platform; an unending procession of radical committees and delegations waited upon him. Although he was at that time, by his own statement, adding or changing a line of the proclamation, "touching it up here and there," he seems almost invariably to have argued against emancipation with those who came to plead for it.

It was only his way of making his own judgment surer. He was not only examining every possible reason for emancipation; he was steadily seeking reasons against it. Perhaps the best illustration preserved to us of this intellectual method of Lincoln is his argument to a committee from the religious denominations of Chicago, who came to him on September 13:

"What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel states? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? . . . If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops. I will mention another thing, though it meets only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union armies from the border slave states. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they should go over to the rebels."

The letter to Greeley, the passages quoted above, show how the President was wrestling with the question. There is every indication indeed that an incessant struggle against violent emancipation went on in his mind through the whole period. He regarded it as the act of a dictator. He feared it might be fruitless. He dreaded the injury it would do the loyal people of the South. He said once to a friend, that he had prayed to the Almighty to save him from the necessity of it, adopting the very language of Christ, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me." In

talking to the Chicago delegations, who argued that it was God's will that he issue a proclamation, he said:

"I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me; for unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible, and learn what appears to be wise and right."

The victory for which the President waited came on September 17. McClellan had followed Lee into Maryland and defeated him. The President was at his summer house at the Soldier's Home when the news of Antietam reached him. He at once finished the second draft of the Emancipation Proclamation and called the cabinet together on Monday, September 22. Secretary Chase recorded in his diary, that day, how, after reading his colleagues a chapter from Artemus Ward, the President "took a graver tone." The words he spoke, as recorded by Mr. Chase, are a remarkable revelation of the man's feelings at the moment:

"I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been

much occupied with this subject, and I have thought, all along, that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and [hesitating a little] to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfil that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This, I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter, which any of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions. One other observation I will make. I know very well that many others might, in this matter as in others, do better than I can; and if I was satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me and knew of any constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But, though I believe that I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had some time since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I am. I am here; I must do the best I can and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take."

The proclamation appeared in the newspapers of the following morning. One substantial addition had been made to the document since July 22. It now declared that the Government of the United States would "recognize and maintain" the freedom of the persons set at liberty.

There was no exultation in the President's mind; indeed there was almost a groan in the words which, the night after he had given it out, he addressed to a party of serenaders, "I can only trust in God that I have made no mistake." The events of the fall brought him little encouragement. Indeed, the promise of emancipation seemed to effect nothing but discontent and uneasiness; stocks went down, troops fell off. In five great states—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York—the elections went against him. Little but menaces came from Europe. Many said that the President would not dare, in the face of the unrest of the country, fulfil his promise and issue the proclamation. But when Congress opened on December 1, he did submit the proclamation, together with the plan for compensated emancipation which he had worked out. Over one-half of the message, in fact, was given to this plan.

Mr. Lincoln pleaded with Congress for his measure as he had never pleaded before. He argued that it would "end the struggle and save the Union forever," that it would "cost no blood at all," that Congress could do it if they would unite with the executive, that the "good people" would respond and support it if appealed to.

"It is not," he said, "'Can any of us imagine better?' but, 'Can we all do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question occurs, 'Can we do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

As the 1st of January drew near, many friends of the proclamation doubted that Mr. Lincoln would keep his promise. Among these was the Rev. Byron Sunderland, of Washington, at that time chaplain of the Senate and one of the most aggressively loyal ministers in the city. Dr. Sunderland feared that there was truth in the rumor that the President would withdraw, not issue, the proclamation on the 1st of January, and on the Sunday before the New Year he preached a sermon on the subject. Mr. Z. S. Robbins, of Washington, a friend of Mr. Lincoln, asked

Dr. Sunderland to go with him to the President and urge him to keep his promise.

"We were ushered into the cabinet room," says Dr. Sunderland. "It was very dim, but one gas-jet burning. As we entered, Mr. Lincoln was standing at the farther end of the long table which filled the middle of the room. As I stood by the door, I am so very short that I was obliged to look up to see the President. Mr. Robbins introduced me, and I began at once by saying: 'I have come, Mr. President, to anticipate the New Year with my respect, and if I may, to say to you a word about the serious condition of this country.'

" 'Go ahead, Doctor,' replied the President; 'every little helps.' But I was too much in earnest to laugh at his sally at my smallness. 'Mr. President,' I continued, 'they say that you are not going to keep your promise to give us the Emancipation Proclamation; that it is your intention to withdraw it.'

" 'Well, Doctor,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'you know Peter was going to do it, but when the time came he didn't.'

" 'Mr. President,' I continued, 'I have been studying Peter. He did not deny his Master until after his Master rebuked him in the presence of the enemy. You have a master, too, Mr. Lincoln, the American people. Don't deny your master until he has rebuked you before all the world.'

"My earnestness seemed to interest the President, and his whole tone changed immediately. 'Sit down, Doctor Sunderland,' he said; 'let us talk.'

"We seated ourselves in the room, and for a moment the President was silent, his elbow resting on the table, his big, gnarled hands closed over his forehead. Then, looking up gravely at me, he began to speak:

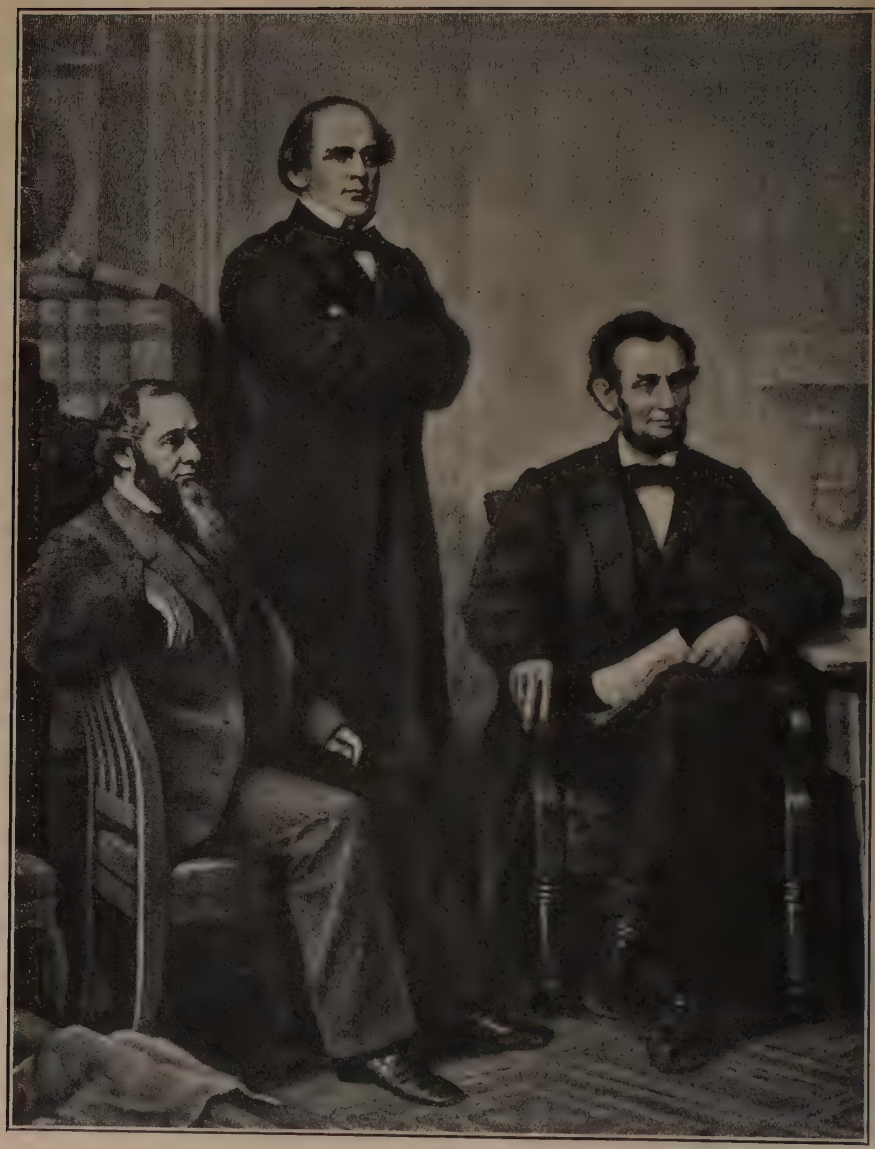
" 'Doctor, if it had been left to you and me, there would have been no war. If it had been left to you and me, there would have been no cause for this war; but it was not left to us. God has allowed men to make slaves of their fellows.

He permits this war. He has before Him a strange spectacle. We, on our side, are praying Him to give us victory, because we believe we are right; but those on the other side pray Him, too, for victory, believing they are right. What must He think of us? And what is coming from the struggle? What will be the effect of it all on the whites and on the negroes?' And then suddenly a ripple of amusement broke the solemn tone of his voice. 'As for the negroes, Doctor, and what is going to become of them: I told Ben Wade the other day, that it made me think of a story I read in one of my first books, "Æsop's Fables." It was an old edition, and had curious rough wood-cuts, one of which showed four white men scrubbing a negro in a potash kettle filled with cold water. The text explained that the men thought that by scrubbing the negro they might make him white. Just about the time they thought they were succeeding, he took cold and died. Now, I am afraid that by the time we get through this war the negro will catch cold and die.'

"The laugh had hardly died away before he resumed his grave tone, and for half an hour he discussed the question of emancipation. He stated it in every light, putting his points so clearly that each statement was an argument. He showed the fullest appreciation of every side. It was like a talk of one of the old prophets. And though he did not tell me at the end whether the proclamation would be issued or not, I went home comforted and uplifted, and I believed in Abraham Lincoln from that day."

Mr. Lincoln had no idea of withdrawing the proclamation. On December 30, he read the document to his Cabinet and asked the members to take copies home and give him their criticisms. The next day at cabinet meeting these criticisms and suggestions were presented by the different members. Mr. Lincoln took them all to his office, where, during that

Stanton Chase President Lincoln

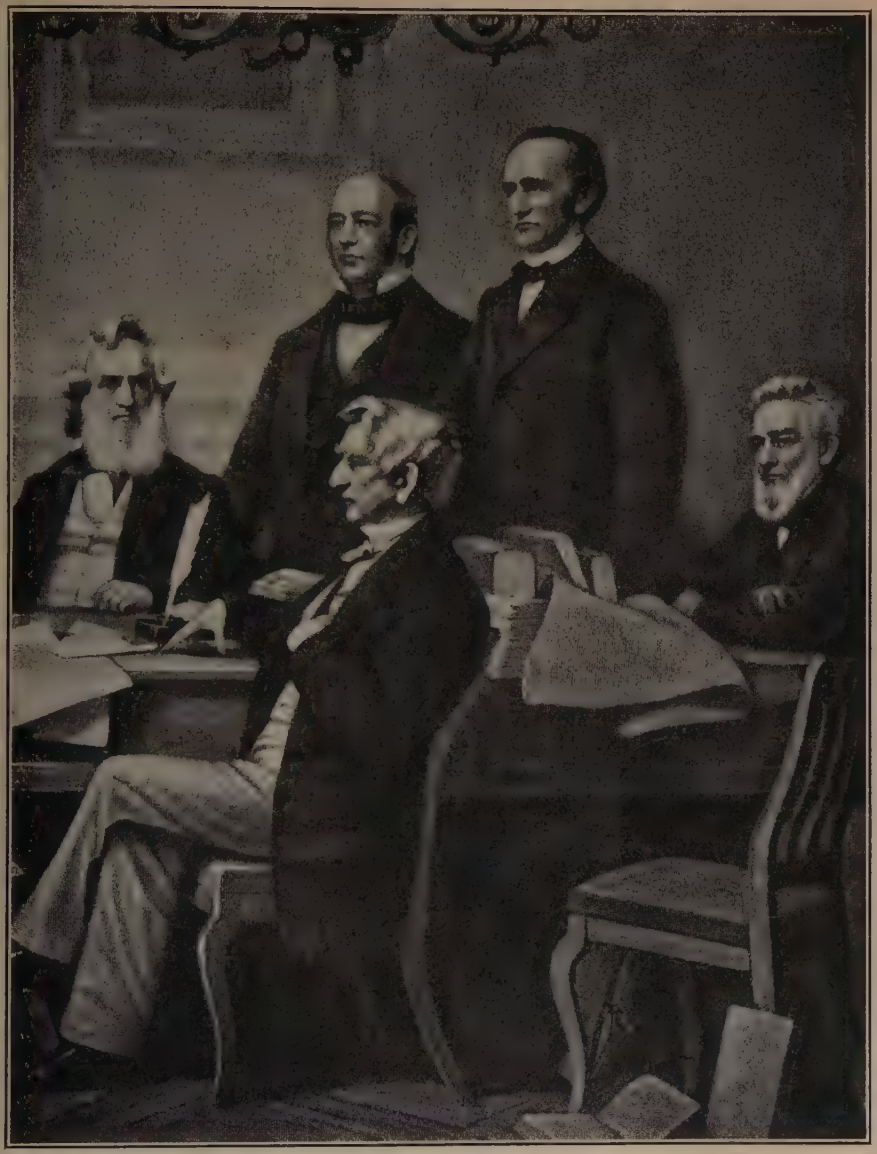


FIRST READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

From the original painting by F. B. Carpenter

The original was painted in the state dining-room of the White House between February 5 and August 1, 1864, under the eye and with the kindly help of President Lincoln. According to a letter of Secretary Chase to Mr. Carpenter, "Mr. Lincoln, before reading his manuscript of the proclamation, said, in substance: 'I have considered everything that has been said to me about the expediency of emancipation, and have made up my mind to issue this proclamation, and I have invited you to come together, not to discuss what is to be done, but to have you hear what I have written and to get your suggestions about form and style;' adding: 'I have thought it all over, and have made a promise that this should be done to myself and to God.'" Secretary Chase adds: "The picture well represents that moment which followed the reading of the proclamation. It puts the two members who thoroughly advised and heartily believed in the measure on the right of Mr.

Welles Smith Seward Blair Bates



BEFORE THE CABINET, SEPTEMBER 20, 1862.

now in the Capitol at Washington.

Lincoln; the others (who, though they all acquiesced, and Mr. Seward, who, particularly, made important suggestions, had hitherto doubted or advised delay or even opposed) on the left."

After the painting had been exhibited in the larger cities of the country, it was purchased by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson of New York and presented to the re-United States. Congress accepted the picture "with thanks" on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1878. James A. Garfield, then a member of Congress, made the speech of presentation on behalf of Mrs. Thompson, while the Hon. Alexander Stephens, former vice-president of the Confederacy, who, in a famous speech at the beginning of the war, had declared, "Slavery is the cornerstone of the new Confederacy," made the speech accepting, on behalf of Congress, this painting which commemorates the abolition of slavery.

afternoon and the morning of January 1, 1863, he rewrote the document. He was called from it at eleven o'clock to go to the East Room and begin the customary New Year's handshaking. It was the middle of the afternoon before he was free and back in the executive chamber, where the Emancipation Proclamation, which in the interval had been duly engrossed at the State Department and brought to the White House by Secretary Seward and his son, was waiting his signature.

"They found the President alone in his room," writes Frederick Seward. "The broad sheet was spread out before him on the cabinet table. Mr. Lincoln dipped his pen in the ink, and then, holding it a moment above the paper, seemed to hesitate. Looking around, he said:

" 'I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper. But I have been receiving calls and shaking hands since nine [eleven?] o'clock this morning, till my arm is stiff and numb. Now, this signature is one that will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled, they will say 'he had some compunctions.' But, any way, it is going to be done!'

"So saying, he slowly and carefully wrote his name at the bottom of the proclamation."

At last the Emancipation Proclamation was a fact. But there was little rejoicing in the heart of the man who had framed and given it to the world. In issuing it, all he had dared hope was that in the long run it would give greater gain than loss. He was not confident that this would be so, but he was willing to risk it. "Hope and fear and doubt contended over the new policy in uncertain conflict," he said months

later. As he had foreseen, dark days followed. There were mutinies in the army; there was ridicule; there was a long interval of waiting for results. Nothing but the greatest care in enforcing the proclamation could make it a greater good than evil, and Mr. Lincoln now turned all his energies to this new task. "We are like whalers who have been long on a chase," he said one day; "we have at last got the harpoon into the monster, but we must now look how we steer, or with one 'flop' of his tail he will send us all into eternity."

CHAPTER XXVI

LINCOLN'S SEARCH FOR A GENERAL

THE failure of McClellan in the Peninsular Campaign not only forced the Emancipation Proclamation from Lincoln, it set him to working on a fresh set of military problems. The most important of these was a search for a competent general-in-chief for the armies of the United States. As has already been noted General McClellan had been appointed general-in-chief in July, 1861, after the first battle of Bull Run. A few months' experience had demonstrated to the Administration that able as McClellan was in forming an army and inspiring his soldiers, he lacked the ability to direct a great concerted movement extending over so long a line as that from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. In March when he took the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac the President relieved him from the command of all military departments except that of the Department of the Potomac. From March to July, 1862, Lincoln had no general-in-chief. He felt so keenly his need of an experienced military counsellor that towards the end of June he made a hurried and secret visit to General Scott, who since he had been superseded by McClellan had been in retirement.

One result of his visit to McClellan at Harrison's Landing in July was to fix Lincoln's determination

to have in Washington a general-in-chief of all the armies who could supplement his own meagre knowledge of military matters, and who could aid him in forming judgments. He knew that in the campaign against Richmond he had, at more than one critical moment, made decisions which were contrary to McClellan's plans. He knew that McClellan claimed that these decisions had caused his failure. He had acted to the best of his judgment in every case, but he undoubtedly felt the danger in a civilian's taking such a responsibility. He wanted a man at his side whom he believed was wiser than he in these matters. So far the war had brought out but one man who seemed to him at all fit for this work, Major-General H. W. Halleck, the commander of the Department of the Mississippi. On his return to Washington from his visit to McClellan, almost the first act of the President was to summon Halleck to Washington as general-in-chief. Halleck was a West Point man highly regarded by General Scott, who had been appointed to take charge of the Department of the West after Frémont's failure there. He had shown such vigor in his field in the winter of 1861-62, that in March, when McClellan was relieved of the position of general-in-chief, a new department including all the Mississippi region west of Knoxville, Tennessee, was given to Halleck. Since that time he had succeeded in opening the Mississippi with the aid of the gunboats as far south as Memphis.

Halleck was appointed on July 11, and soon after his arrival in Washington he went to Harrison's

LINCOLN AT MCCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS, ANTIETAM, OCTOBER 3, 1862.

From a photograph loaned by Mr. C. M. Derickson, Mercer, Pa. After defeating Lee at Antietam on September 17, McClellan had failed to follow up his advantage, alleging that his army lacked "everything" and needed rest. Lincoln then went to Antietam to study the situation for himself; and it was during this visit that the picture was taken. At Lincoln's left stands McClellan.

Landing to look over McClellan's situation. He found McClellan determined to make another attack on Richmond after he received re-enforcements. Halleck disapproved of the idea. He believed that McClellan should return to the Potomac and unite with the new army of Virginia which had just been formed of the troops around Washington and placed under the direction of General John Pope, another product of the Mississippi campaign, from whom the President hoped great things.

McClellan persistently fought this plan and his removal was seriously discussed at this time. The great body of the Republican Party indeed demanded it. Many did not hesitate to say that McClellan was a traitor only waiting the proper opportunity to surrender his army to the enemy—an accusation which never had other foundation than McClellan's obstinacy and procrastination. Lincoln would not relieve him. He believed him loyal. He knew that no man could be better loved by his soldiers or more capable of putting an army into form. He had no one to put in his place. There was a political reason, too; McClellan was a Democrat. The party took his view of the disastrous Peninsular Campaign—that Mr. Lincoln had not supported him. To remove him was to arouse bitter Democratic opposition and so to decrease the support of the Union cause; at this juncture to hold as solid a North as possible to the war was quite as imperative as to win a battle.

Lincoln would not relieve McClellan, but he sanctioned the plan for a change of base from the James to the Potomac and early in August, McClellan was

ordered to move his army. He continued to struggle against the movement, believing he could, if re-enforced, capture Richmond, and when forced to yield he made the movement with delay and ill-humor. The withdrawal of McClellan freed Lee's army, and the Confederate general marched quickly northward against the Army of Virginia under General Pope. On August 30, Lee defeated Pope in the second battle of Bull Run—a defeat scarcely less discouraging to the Federals than the first Bull Run had been, and one that caused almost as great a panic at Washington. Pope was defeated, the country generally believed, because McClellan, who was hardly twenty miles away, did not, in spite of orders, do anything to relieve him. It seemed to Lincoln that McClellan even wanted Pope to fail. The indignation of the Secretary of War and of the majority of the members of the Cabinet was so great against McClellan that a protest against keeping him any longer in command of any force was written by Stanton and signed by three of his colleagues. Major A. E. H. Johnson, the private secretary of Stanton, first published this protest in the Washington "Evening Star," March 18, 1893. Mr. Johnson says that the President thought it unwise to publish the document that Mr. Stanton had prepared; but he consented that the following protest should be signed and handed to him as a substitute. The understanding of the cabinet members interested was that this revised protest should go to the country. Mr. Johnson believes that Mr. Lincoln himself wrote this protest; at all events, he is certain that the President consented to it.

"The undersigned, who have been honored with your selection as part of your confidential advisers, deeply impressed with our great responsibility in the present crisis, do but perform a painful duty in declaring to you our deliberate opinion that at this time it is not safe to intrust to Major-General McClellan the command of any army of the United States. And we hold ourselves ready at any time to explain to you in detail the reasons upon which this opinion is based."

In spite of this evident sympathy of Lincoln with the indignation against McClellan, on September 2 he placed that general in command of all the troops around Washington. Probably no act of his ever angered the Secretary of War so thoroughly. A large part of the North, too, was indignant. A general cry went up to the President for a new leader.

Lincoln only showed again in this determined and bitterly criticised action his courage in acting in a crisis according to his own judgment. The army under Pope was demoralized. Washington was, perhaps, in danger. The defeat had robbed Pope of confidence. Halleck, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, was beseeching McClellan to come to his relief. There was no other general in the army who could so quickly "lick the troops into shape," as Lincoln put it, and man the fortifications around the city. He made the order, and McClellan entirely justified the President's faith in him. He did put the army into form and was able to follow at once after Lee, who was now making for Maryland and Pennsylvania. Overtaking Lee at Antietam, north of the Potomac, McClellan defeated him on September 17.

But to Lincoln's utter despair, he failed to follow up his victory and allowed Lee to get back south of the Potomac River; nor would he follow him, in spite of Lincoln's reiterated urging. It was this failure to move McClellan's army from camp that sent Lincoln to visit him early in October. He would find out the actual condition of the army; see if, as McClellan complained, it lacked "everything" and needed rest. He found McClellan with over 100,000 men around him; two days of his visit he spent in the saddle reviewing this force. He visited the hospitals, talked with the men, interviewed the generals, saw everything. What his opinion of the ability of the army to do something was, is evident from an order sent McClellan the day after he returned to Washington: "The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him south." This was on October 6. A week later, McClellan being still in camp, Mr. Lincoln wrote him the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 13, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

"*My Dear Sir:* You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess and act upon the claim? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons

from Culpepper Court House, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and, in fact, ignores the question of time, which cannot and must not be ignored. Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to 'operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own.' You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply in your favor. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? . . .

"If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him, if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say 'try'; if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is simple truth and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond. . . ."

This patient, sensible letter had no effect on McClellan. Now, forbearing as Lincoln was as a rule, he could lose his patience in a way which it does one good to see. He lost it a few days later, when Mc-

Clellan gave as a reason for inaction that his cavalry horses had sore tongues.

"I have just read your dispatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses," Lincoln telegraphed. "Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

Yet even for this telegram he half apologized two days later:

"Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks' total inaction of the army, and during which period we have sent to the army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7,918, that the cavalry horses were too much fatigued to move, presents a very cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of impatience in my dispatch."

On the first day of November, McClellan crossed the Potomac; but four days later the President, acting on a curious, half-superstitious ultimatum which he had laid down for his own guidance, removed the General. He had decided, Mr. Hay heard him say, that if McClellan permitted Lee to cross the Blue Ridge and place himself between Richmond and the Army of the Potomac, there would be a change in generals. Four days later Lee did this very thing, and Lincoln, unmoved by the fact that McClellan had at last begun the movement south, kept the compact with himself.

But who should be asked to take the command of the army? There was no man whose achievements

made him pre-eminent—no one whom the country demanded as it had Frémont and McClellan. The choice seemed to be confined to the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac, and General Ambrose Burnside was ordered to relieve McClellan. Lincoln had been watching Burnside closely for many months. Indeed, he had already twice asked him to take the command, but Burnside, believing in McClellan and mistrusting his own fitness, had refused.

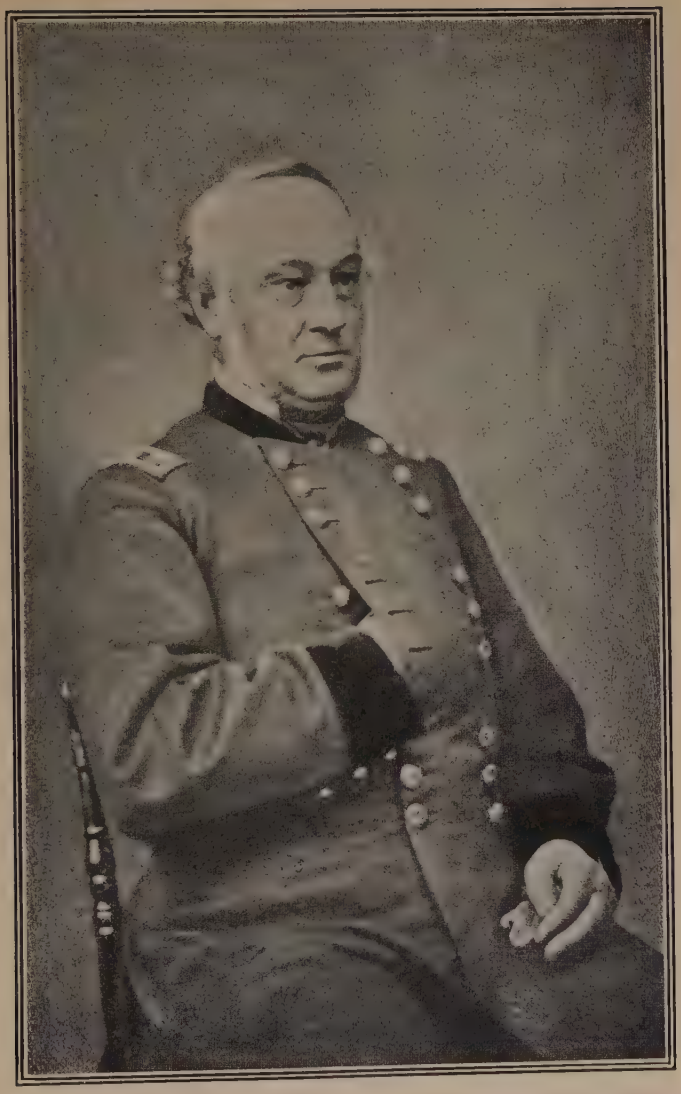
With an anxious heart the President watched the new commander as he followed Lee into Virginia and took a position north of the Rappahannock, facing Lee, who was now at Fredericksburg, on the south of the river. Burnside at once made ready for battle and Lincoln, wanting as always to see with his own eyes the army's condition, went down the Potomac on November 27 to Acquia Creek, where Burnside met him and explained his plan. The President thought it risky and in a letter to Halleck suggested a less hazardous substitute. Both Burnside and Halleck objected however, and the President yielded.

Burnside began his movement on December 9. During the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, the President studied intently the yellow-tissue telegrams in his drawer at the telegraph office, telling where troops were crossing the river and what positions had been gained. At half-past four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, a message was received saying that the troops were all over the river—"loss, 5,000." This meant that the final struggle was at hand. About eight o'clock that morning, Mr. Lincoln appeared at

the telegraph office of the War Department in dressing-gown and carpet slippers. Mr. Rosewater, the editor of the Omaha "Bee," was receiving messages, and he says that the President did not leave the room until night. Secretary Stanton, Major Eckert, and Captain Fox were the only other persons present, as he remembers. The excitement and suspense were too great for any one to eat, and it was not until evening that the Secretary sent out for food for the watchers. All day the 15th the anxiety lasted; then, at a quarter past four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, came news of a retreat. "I have thought it necessary," telegraphed Burnside from the north of the Rappahannock, "to withdraw the army to this side of the river." Slowly the dreadful returns came in —over 10,000 men dead and wounded, 2,000 more missing. The government did its utmost to conceal the disaster, but gradually it came out and again the heart-sick country heaped its anger on the President.

Lincoln's faith in Burnside was sorely tried by the battle of Fredericksburg. Reports which soon came to him of the discouragement of the army and the disaffection of the corps commanders alarmed him still further, and he refused, without Halleck's consent, to allow Burnside to make a new movement which the latter had planned. But Halleck declined, at this critical moment, to accept the responsibilities of his position as General-in-Chief and to give a decision. Lincoln felt his desertion deeply.

"If in such a difficulty as this," he wrote Halleck, "you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's



H. W. HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY FROM JULY, 1862, TO MARCH 12, 1864.

BORN, 1815; DIED, 1872.

plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper—in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this."

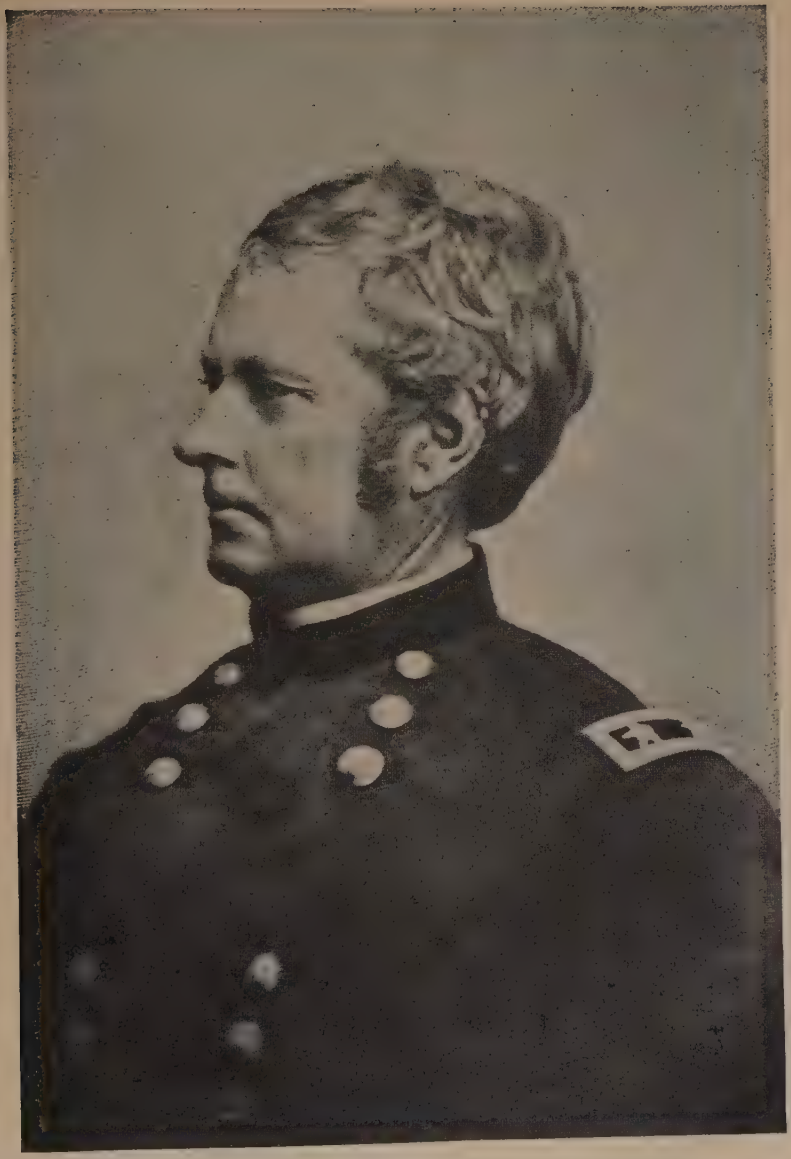
The passing weeks only added to the disorganization of the Army of the Potomac, and on January 25 the President ordered General Joseph Hooker to relieve General Burnside. Stanton and Halleck were not satisfied with the selection. They wanted the next experiment tried on a Western general who was promising well, General W. S. Rosecrans. That Lincoln himself saw danger in the appointment is evident from the letter he wrote to General Hooker:

"*General:* I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those gen-

erals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories. Yours very truly, A LINCOLN."

Hooker had a manly heart, and the President's words appealed to the best that was in him. Noah Brooks tells how he heard the General read the letter soon after its receipt. "He finished reading it," writes Mr. Brooks, "almost with tears in his eyes; and as he folded it and put it back in the breast of his coat, he said, 'That is just such a letter as a father might write to a son. It is a beautiful letter, and although I think he was harder on me than I deserved, I will say that I love the man who wrote it.'"

By the first of April, the Army of the Potomac had been put into splendid form by General Hooker. An advance against the enemy, still entrenched at Fredericksburg, where Burnside had engaged him, was contemplated, but prior to the battle a grand review of the troops before the President was planned. It was on Saturday, April 4, that Lincoln left Washington, by a river steamer, for Hooker's headquarters at Falmouth, Virginia. A great snowstorm began



"FIGHTING JOE" HOOKER, COMMANDER OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC FROM JANUARY, 1863, TO JUNE, 1863.

BORN, 1814; DIED, 1879.

that night, and it was with serious delay and discomfort that the review was conducted. Difficult as it was, the President was indefatigable in his efforts to see all the army, to talk with every officer, to shake hands with as many men as possible. A strange foreboding seemed to possess him. Hooker's confident assurance, "I am going straight to Richmond, if I live," filled him with dread. "It's about the worst thing I have seen since since I have been down here," he told Noah Brooks, who was one of the party. When he watched the splendid column of that vast army of a hundred thousand, there was no rejoicing in his face. The defeats of two years, the angry clamor of an unhappy North, the dead of a dozen battlefields, seemed written there instead. So haggard was his countenance that even the men in the line noticed it. Ira Seymour Dodd, in one of his graphic Civil War stories, has described this very review, and he tells how he and his comrades were almost awe-stricken by the glimpse they caught of the President's face:

"As we neared the reviewing-stand, the tall figure of Lincoln loomed up. He was on horseback, and his severely plain, black citizen's dress set him in bold relief against the crowd of generals in full uniform grouped behind him. Distinguished men were among them; but we had no eyes save for our revered President, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the brother of every soldier, the great leader of a nation in its hour of trial. There was no time save for a marching salute; the occasion called for no cheers. Self-examination, not glorification, had brought the army and its chief together. But we passed close to him, so that he could look into our faces and we into his.

"None of us to our dying day can forget that countenance! From its presence we marched directly onward toward our camp, and as soon as 'route step' was ordered and the men were free to talk, they spoke thus to each other: 'Did you ever see such a look on any man's face?' 'He is bearing the burdens of the nation.' 'It is an awful load; it is killing him.' 'Yes, that is so; he is not long for this world!'

"Concentrated in that one great, strong yet tender face, the agony of the life or death struggle of the hour was revealed as we had never seen it before. With new understanding we knew why we were soldiers."

A day later Lincoln left the army, but before going he said to Hooker and his generals, "Gentlemen, in your next battle put in all your men." The next battle occurred on May 1, 2, 3, and 4. Over 37,000 men were left out of the fight, and on May 5 the army again withdrew north of the Potomac. The news of the retreat reached the President on May 6.

"About three o'clock in the afternoon," says Noah Brooks, "the door opened, and Lincoln came into the room. I shall never forget that picture of despair. He held a telegram in his hand, and as he closed the door and came toward us, I mechanically noticed that his face, usually sallow, was ashen in hue. The paper on the wall behind him was of the tint known as 'French gray,' and even in that moment of sorrow and dread expectation I vaguely took in the thought that the complexion of the anguished President's visage was almost exactly like that of the wall. He gave me the telegram, and in a voice trembling with emotion, said, 'Read it—news from the army.' The despatch was from General Butterfield, Hooker's chief of staff, addressed to the War Department, and was to the effect that the army had been withdrawn from the south side of the Rappahannock, and was then 'safely encamped' in its former position. The appearance of the President, as I read aloud these fateful words,

GRAND REVIEW OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BY

General Joseph Hooker had now been in command of the army

PRESIDENT LINCOLN, AT FALMOUTH, VA., IN APRIL, 1863.

since January 25, 1863, and had brought it into "splendid form."

was piteous. Never, so long as I knew him, did he seem to be so broken up, so dispirited, and so ghostlike. Clasping his hands behind his back, he walked up and down the room, saying, 'My God, my God, what will the country say! What will the country say!' "

This consternation was soon mastered. Lincoln's almost superhuman faculty of putting disaster behind him and turning his whole force to the needs of the moment came to his aid. Ordering a steamer to be ready at the wharf, he summoned Halleck, and at four o'clock the two men were on their way to Hooker's headquarters. The next day, the President had the situation in hand and was planning the next move of the Army of the Potomac.

The country could not rally so quickly from the blow of Chancellorsville. From every side came again the despairing cry, "Abraham Lincoln, give us a man!" But Lincoln had no man of whom he felt surer than he did of Hooker, and for two months longer he tried to sustain that General. A fundamental difficulty existed, however—what Lincoln called a "family quarrel"—an antagonism between Halleck and Hooker, which caused constant friction. Since the beginning of the war, Lincoln had been annoyed, his plans thwarted, the cause crippled, by the jealousies and animosities of men. So far as possible the President tried to keep out of these complications. "I have too many family controversies, so to speak, already on my hands, to voluntarily, or so long as I can avoid it, take up another," he wrote to General McClernand once. "You are now doing well—well for the country, and well for yourself—

much better than you could possibly be if engaged in open war with General Halleck." But his letters and telegrams show how, in spite of himself, he was continually running athwart somebody's prejudice or dislike.

The trouble between Halleck and Hooker reached a climax at a critical moment. On June 3, Lee had slipped from his position on the Rappahannock and started north. Hooker had followed him with great skill. Both armies were well north of the Potomac, and a battle was imminent when, on June 27, angered by Halleck's refusal of a request, Hooker resigned.

During the days when Hooker was chasing Lee northward, the President had spent much of his time in his room at the telegraph office. Mr. Chandler, who was on duty there, relates that one of his most constant inquiries was about the Fifth Corps, under General Meade. "Where's Meade?" "What's the Fifth Corps doing?" he was asking constantly. He had seen, no doubt, that he might be obliged to displace Hooker, and was observing the man whom he had in mind for the position. At all events, it was Meade whom he now ordered to take charge of the army.

The days following were ones of terrible suspense in Washington. The North, panic-stricken by the Southern invasion, was clamoring at the President for a hundred things. Among other demands was a strongly supported one for the recall of McClellan. Col. A. K. McClure, of Philadelphia, who, among others, urged Lincoln to restore McClellan, says in a letter to the writer:

"When Lee's army entered Pennsylvania in June, 1863, there was general consternation throughout the state. The Army of the Potomac was believed to be very much demoralized by the defeat of Chancellorsville, by want of confidence in Hooker as commander, and by the apprehension that any of the corps commanders, called suddenly to lead the army just on the eve of the greatest battle of the war, would not inspire the trust of the soldiers. The friends of General McClellan believed that he could best defend the state. He was admittedly the best organizer in our entire army, was pre-eminently equipped as a defensive officer, and they assumed that his restoration to the command would bring in immense Democratic support to the Administration."

Lincoln's view of the matter is fully shown by the telegram which he sent in reply to the one from Colonel McClure urging McClellan's appointment.

War Department,
Washington City, *June* 30, 1863.

"A. K. McClure, Philadelphia:

"Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one? A. Lincoln."

Three days after his appointment, Meade met Lee at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, and after three days of hard fighting defeated him. During these three terrible days—the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July—Mr. Lincoln spent most of his time in the telegraph office.

"He read every telegram with the greatest eagerness," says Mr. Chandler, "and frequently was so anxious that he would rise from his seat and come around and lean over my shoulder while I was translating the cipher. After the battle of Gettysburg, the President urged Meade to pursue Lee

and engage him before he should cross the Potomac. His anxiety seemed as great as it had been during the battle itself, and now, as then, he walked up and down the floor, his face grave and anxious, wringing his hands and showing every sign of deep solicitude. As the telegrams came in, he traced the positions of the two armies on the map, and several times called me up to point out their location, seeming to feel the need of talking to some one. Finally, a telegram came from Meade saying that under such and such circumstances he would engage the enemy at such and such a time. 'Yes,' said the President bitterly, 'he will be ready to fight a magnificent battle when there is no enemy there to fight!'"

Perhaps Lincoln never had a harder struggle to do what he thought to be just than he did after Meade allowed Lee to escape across the Potomac. He seems to have entertained a suspicion that the General *wanted* Lee to get away, for in a telegram to Simon Cameron, on July 15, he says: "I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Couch, Smith, and all, since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight." The day before, he wrote Meade a letter in which he put frankly all his discontent:

". . . My dear General, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two-thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect and I do not expect that you can now effect much.

Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

"I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why," *

He never sent the letter. Thinking it over, in his dispassionate way, he evidently concluded that it would not repair the misfortune and that it might dishearten the General. He smothered his regret and went on patiently and loyally for many months in the support of his latest experiment.

But while in the East the President had been experimenting with men, in the West a man had been painfully and silently making himself. His name was Ulysses S. Grant. The President had known nothing of his coming into the army. No political party had demanded him; indeed he had found it difficult at first, West Point graduate though he was and great as the need of trained service was, to secure the lowest appointment. He had taken what he could get, however, and from the start he had always done promptly the thing asked of him; more than that, he seemed always to be looking for things to do. It was these habits of his that brought him at last, in February of 1862, to the command of a movement in which Lincoln was deeply interested. This was the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, near the mouth of the Tennessee River. "Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort," Lincoln wrote on February 16 to Halleck and Buell, then in command

* Abraham Lincoln. A History. By Nicolay and Hay.

of Missouri and Tennessee. While the President was writing his letters, Grant, in front of Fort Donelson, was writing a note to the Confederate commander, who had asked for terms of capitulation: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works." To the harassed President at Washington these words must have been like a war-cry. He had spent the winter in a vain effort to inspire his supposed great generals with the very spirit breathed in the words and deeds of this unknown officer in the West.

Grant was now made a major-general, and entrusted with larger things. He always brought about results; but in spite of this, the President saw there was much opposition to him. For a long period he was in partial disgrace; but Lincoln must have noticed that while many other generals, whose achievements were less than Grant's, complained loudly and incessantly at reprimands—"snubbing," the President called it—Grant said nothing. He stayed at his post doggedly, working his way inch by inch down the Mississippi.

Finally, in July, 1862, when General Halleck was called to Washington as General-in-Chief, Grant was put at the head of the armies of the West. There was much opposition to him. Men came to the President urging his removal. Lincoln shook his head. "I can't spare this man," he said; "he *fights.*" Many good people complained that he drank. "Can you tell the kind of whisky?" asked Lincoln, "I should like to send a barrel to some of my other generals."

ULYSSES S. GRANT, MADE COMMANDER OF ALL THE UNION ARMIES IN MARCH, 1864.
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES 1868 TO 1876.

BORN, 1822; DIED, 1885.

Nevertheless, the President grew anxious as the months went on. The opening of the Mississippi was, after the capture of Richmond, the most important task of the war. The wrong man there was only second in harm to the wrong man on the Potomac. Was Grant a "wrong man"? Little could be told from his telegrams and letters. "General Grant is a copious worker and fighter," said Lincoln later, "but he is a very meager writer or telegrapher." Finally, the President and the Secretary of War sent for a brilliant and loyal newspaper man, Charles A. Dana, and asked him to go to Grant's army, "to act as the eyes of the Government at the front," said the President. His real mission was to find out for them what kind of a man Grant was. Dana's letters soon showed Lincoln that Grant was a general that nothing could turn from a purpose. That was enough for the President. He let him alone and watched. When, finally, Vicksburg was captured, he wrote him the following letter—it may be called his first recognition of the General:

WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT.

"*My Dear General:* I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson,

Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln."

Grant was busy with new movements before this letter reached him; indeed, as soon as Vicksburg capitulated, he had begun getting ready to do something else. So occupied was he that he did not even take time to write his plans to the Government, asking Mr. Dana to do it for him.

Three and a half months later, after the Army of the Cumberland had been defeated at Chickamauga and had retired into Chattanooga, Grant was called to its relief. In a month the Confederates were driven from their positions on the ridges above him and East Tennessee was saved. There was no longer in Lincoln's mind a doubt that at last he had found the man he wanted. In the winter following, '63 and '64, after much discussion Congress revived the grade of lieutenant-general in the army purposely for Grant's benefit and on February 29, Lincoln nominated the general to the rank. He proceeded at once to Washington, where on March 9 the President and the General met for the first time. What did the President want him to do, Grant asked. Take Richmond was the President's reply. Could he do it? If he had the troops, Grant answered. The President promised them. Two months later Grant had re-organized the Army of the Potomac and had started at its head for the final march to Richmond.

CHAPTER XXVII

LINCOLN AND THE SOLDIERS

ANOTHER serious problem which the failure of the Peninsular Campaign thrust on the President was where to get troops for a renewal of the war. When one recalls the eagerness with which men rushed into arms at the opening of the Civil War, it seems as if President Lincoln should never have had anxiety about filling the ranks of the army. For the first year, indeed, it gave him little concern. So promptly were the calls of 1861 answered that in the spring of 1862 an army of 637,126 men was in service. It was believed that with this force the war could be ended, and in April recruiting was stopped. It was a grave mistake. Before the end of May, the losses and discouragements of the Peninsular Campaign made it necessary to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac. More men were needed, in fact, all along the line. Lincoln saw that, rather than an army of 600,000 men, he should have one of a million, and, July 2, he issued a call for 300,000 men for three years, and August 4 an order was issued for a draft of 300,000 more for nine months.

By the end of 1862, nearly one and a half million men had been enrolled in the army. Nevertheless, the "strength of the army" at that time was counted at but 918,000. What had become of the half million and more. Nearly 100,000 of them had been killed

or totally disabled on the battlefield; 200,000 more, perhaps, had fallen out in the seasoning process. Passed by careless medical examiners, the first five-mile march, the first week of camp life, had brought out some physical weakness which made soldiering out of the question. The rest of the loss was in three-months', six-months', or nine-months' men. They had enlisted for these short periods, and their terms up, they had left the army.

Moreover, the President had learned by this time that, even when the Secretary of War told him that the "strength of the army" was 918,000, it did not by any means follow that there were that number of men present for duty. Experience had taught him that about one-fourth of the reputed "strength" must be allowed for shrinkage; that is, for men in hospitals, men on furloughs, men who had deserted. He had learned that this enormous wastage went on steadily. It followed that, if the army was to be kept up to the million-men mark, recruiting must be as steady as, and in proportion to, the shrinkage.

Recruiting, so easy at the beginning of the war, had become by 1862 quite a different matter. Patriotism, love of adventure, excitement, could no longer be counted on to fill the ranks. It was plain to the President that hereafter, if he was to have the men he needed, military service must be compulsory. Nothing could have been devised which would have created a louder uproar in the North than the suggestion of a draft. All through the winter of 1862-63, Congress wrangled over the bill ordering it, much of the press in the meantime denouncing it

LINCOLN IN CAMP—"THEY NEVER FORGOT HIS FRIENDLY HAND-CLASP, HIS HEARTY 'GOD BLESS YOU.'"

as "despotic" and "contrary to American institutions." The bill passed, however, and the President signed it in March, 1863. At once there was put into operation a huge new military machine, the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General, which had for its business the enrollment of all the men in the United States whom the new law considered capable of bearing arms and the drafting enough of them to fill up the quota assigned to each state. This bureau was also to look after deserters.

A whole series of new problems was thrust on the President when the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal-General came into being. The quotas assigned the states led to endless disputes between the governors and the War Department; the drafts caused riots; an inferior kind of soldier was obtained by drafting, and deserters increased. Lincoln shirked none of these new cares. He was determined that the efficiency of the war engine should be kept up, and nobody in the Government studied more closely how this was to be done, or insisted more vigorously on the full execution of the law. In assigning the quotas to the different states, certain credits were made of men who had enlisted previously. Many disputes arose over the credits and assignments, some of them most perplexing. Ultimately most of these reached the President. The draft bore heavily on districts where the percentage of death among the first volunteers had been large, and often urgent pleas were made to the President to release a city or county from the quota assigned. Joseph Medill, the editor of the Chicago "Tribune," once told me how he and

certain leading citizens of Chicago went to Lincoln to ask that the quota of Cook County be reduced.

"In 1864, when the call for extra troops came, Chicago revolted," said Mr. Medill. "She had already sent 22,000 men up to that time and was drained. When the new call came, there were no young men to go—no aliens except what were bought. The citizens held a mass meeting and appointed three persons, of whom I was one, to go to Washington and ask Stanton to give Cook County a new enrollment. I begged off; but the committee insisted, so I went. On reaching Washington, we went to Stanton with our statement. He refused entirely to give us the desired aid. Then we went to Lincoln. 'I cannot do it,' he said, 'but I will go with you to Stanton and hear the arguments of both sides.' So we all went over to the War Department together. Stanton and General Frye were there, and they, of course, contended that the quota should not be changed. The argument went on for some time and finally was referred to Lincoln who had been sitting silently listening. I shall never forget how he suddenly lifted his head and turned on us a black and frowning face.

" 'Gentlemen,' he said, in a voice full of bitterness, 'after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. The Northwest has opposed the South as New England has opposed the South. It is you who are largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. You called for war until we had it. You called for Emancipation, and I have given it to you. Whatever you have asked you have had. Now you come here begging to be let off from the call for men which I have made to carry out the war you have demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. I have a right to expect better things of you. Go home and raise your 6,000 extra men. And you, Medill, you are acting like a coward. You and your 'Tribune' have had more influence than any paper in the Northwest in making this war. You can influence great masses, and yet you

cry to be spared at a moment when your cause is suffering. Go home and send us those men.'

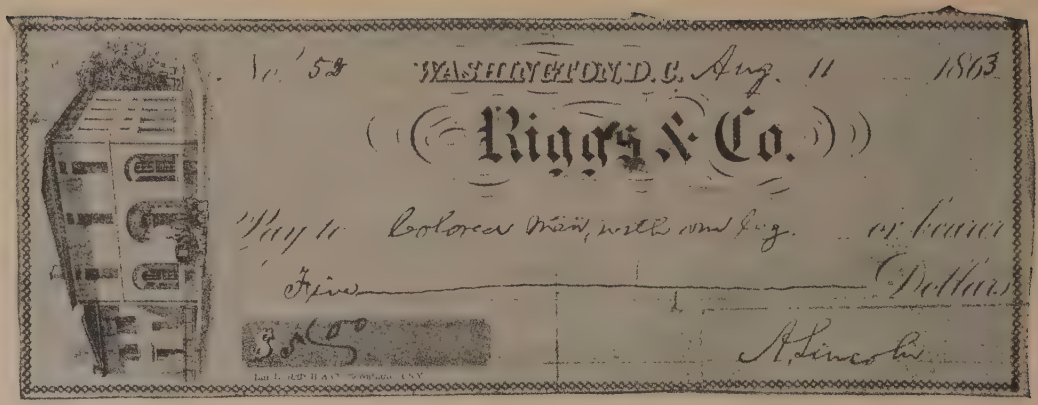
"I couldn't say anything. It was the first time I ever was whipped, and I didn't have an answer. We all got up and went out, and when the door closed, one of my colleagues said: 'Well, gentlemen, the old man is right. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves. Let us never say anything about this, but go home and raise the men.' And we did—6,000 men—making 28,000 in the war from a city of 156,000. But there might have been crape on every door almost in Chicago, for every family had lost a son or a husband. I lost two brothers. It was hard for the mothers." *

Severe as Lincoln could be with any disposition to shirk what he considered a just and necessary demand, strenuously as he insisted that the ranks must be kept full, he never came to regard the army as a mere machine, never forgot the individual men who made it up. Indeed, he was the one man in the Government who, from first to last, was big enough to use both his head and his heart. From the outset, he was the personal friend of every soldier he sent to the front, and somehow every man seemed to know it. No doubt, it was from Lincoln's visits to the camps around Washington, in the early days of the war, that the body of soldiers got this idea. They never forgot his friendly hand-clasp, his hearty "God bless you," his remonstrance against the youth of some fifteen-year-old boy masquerading as twenty, his jocular remarks about the height of some soldier towering above his own six feet four. When, later,

* These notes were made immediately after an interview given me by Mr. Medill in June, 1895. They were to be corrected before publication, but Mr. Medill's death occurred before they were in type, so that the account was never seen by him.

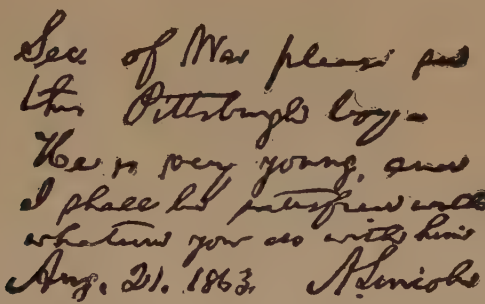
he visited the Army of the Potomac on the Rappahannock and at Antietam, these impressions of his interest in the personal welfare of the soldiers were renewed. He walked down the long lines of tents or huts, noting the attempts at decoration, the housekeeping conveniences, replying by smiles and nods and sometimes with words to the greetings, rough and hearty, which he received. He inquired into every phase of camp life, and the men knew it and said to one another, "He cares for us; he makes us fight, but he cares."

Reports of scores of cases where he interfered personally to secure some favor or right for a soldier found their way to the army and gave solid foundation to this impression that he was the soldier's friend. From the time of the arrival of the first troops in Washington, in April, 1861, the town was full of men, all of them wanting to see the President. At first they were gay and curious merely, their requests trivial; but later, when the army had settled down to steady fighting, and Bull Run and the Peninsula and Antietam and Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had cut and scarred and aged it, the soldiers who haunted Washington were changed. They stumped about on crutches. They sat pale and thin in the parks, empty sleeves pinned to their breasts; they came to the White House begging for furloughs to see dying parents, for release to support a suffering family. No man will ever know how many of these soldiers Abraham Lincoln helped. Little cards are constantly turning up in different parts of the coun-



FACSIMILE OF CHECK.

try, treasured by private soldiers, on which he had written some brief note to a proper authority, intended to help a man out of a difficulty. Here is one:



SEC. OF WAR, please see this Pittsburgh boy. He is very young, and I shall be satisfied with whatever you do with him. A. LINCOLN.
Aug. 21, 1863.

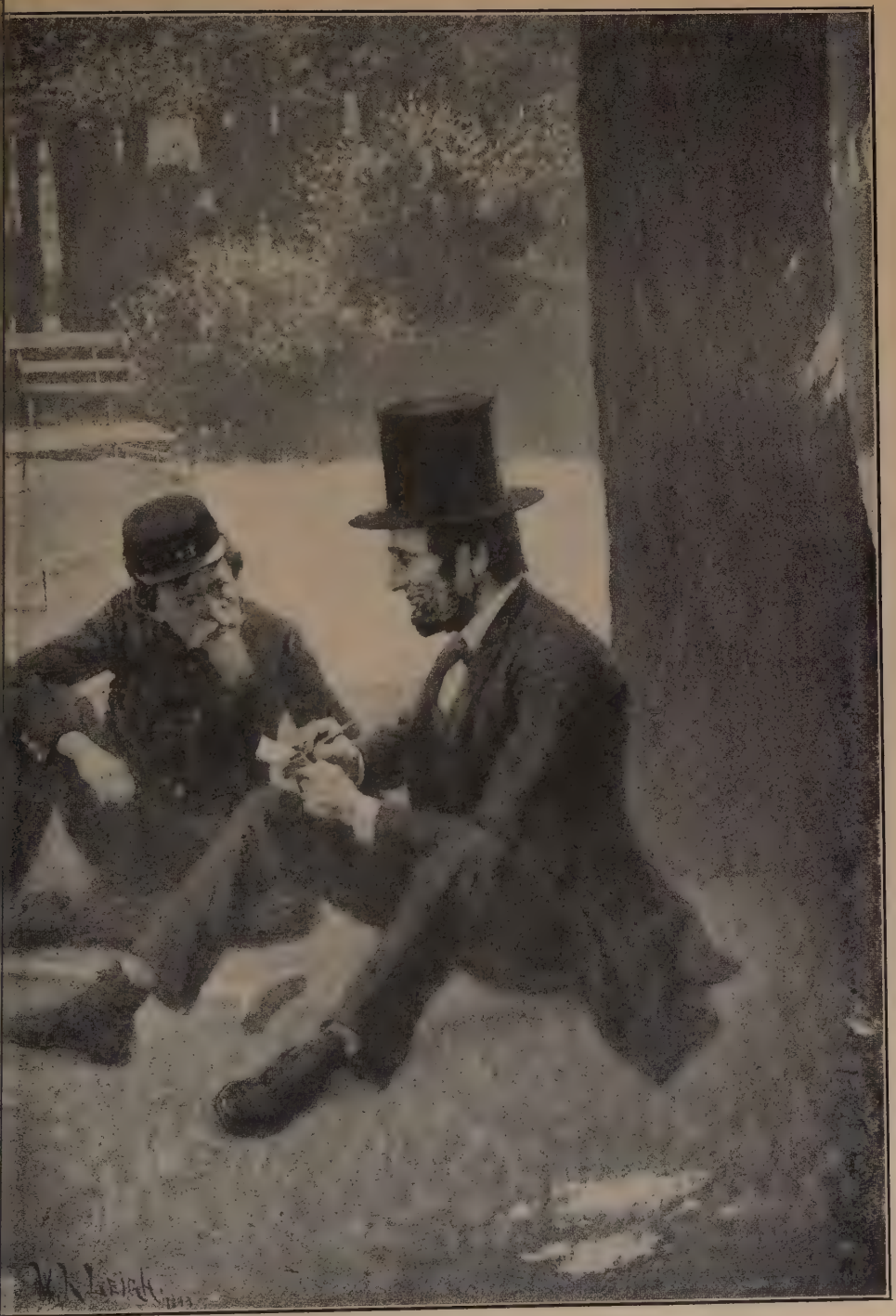
The "Pittsburgh boy" had enlisted at seventeen. He had been ill with a long fever. He wanted a furlough, and with a curious trust that anything could be done if he could only get to the President, he had slipped into the White House, and by chance met Lincoln, who listened to his story and gave him this note.

Many applications reached Lincoln as he passed to and from the White House and the War Department. One day as he crossed the park he was stopped by a negro who told him a pitiful story. The President wrote him out a check for five dollars. "Pay to colored man with one leg," it read.

A pleasing scene between Lincoln and a soldier once fell under the eye of Mr. A. W. Swan of Al-

buquerque, New Mexico, on this same path between the White House and the War Department:

"In company with a gentleman, I was on the way to the War Department one day. Our way led through a small park between the White House and the War Department building. As we entered this park we noticed Mr. Lincoln just ahead of us, and meeting him a private soldier who was evidently in a violent passion, as he was swearing in a high key, cursing the Government from the President down. Mr. Lincoln paused as he met the irate soldier and asked him what was the matter. 'Matter enough,' was the reply. 'I want my money. I have been discharged here and can't get my pay.' Mr. Lincoln asked if he had his papers, saying that he used to practice law in a small way and possibly could help him. My friend and I stepped behind some convenient shrubbery where we could watch the result. Mr. Lincoln took the papers from the hands of the crippled soldier and sat down with him at the foot of a convenient tree, where he examined them carefully and, writing a line on the back told the soldier to take them to Mr. Potts, Chief Clerk of the War Department, who would doubtless attend to the matter at once. After Mr. Lincoln had left the soldier, we stepped out and asked him if he knew whom he had been talking with. 'Some ugly old fellow who pretends to be a lawyer,' was the reply. My companion asked to see the papers and, on their being handed to him, pointed to the indorsement they had received. This indorsement read: 'Mr. Potts, attend to this man's case at once and see that he gets his pay. A. L.' The initials were too familiar with men in position to know them to be ignored. We went with the soldier, who had just returned from Libby Prison and had been given a hospital certificate for discharge to see Mr. Potts, and before the Paymaster's office was closed for the day, he had received his discharge and check for the money due him, he in the meantime not knowing whether to be the more pleased or sorry to think he had cursed 'Abe Lincoln' to his face."



"MR. LINCOLN TOOK THE PAPERS FROM THE HANDS OF THE CRIPPLED SOLDIER, AND SAT DOWN WITH HIM AT THE FOOT OF A CONVENIENT TREE."

It was not alone the soldier to whom the President listened; it was also to his wife, his mother, his daughter.

"I remember one morning," says Mr. A. B. Chandler, "his coming into my office with a distressed expression on his face and saying to Major Eckert, 'Eckert, who is that woman crying out in the hall? What is the matter with her?' Eckert said he did not know, but would go and find out. He came back soon and said that it was a woman who had come a long distance expecting to go down to the army to see her husband, that she had some very important matters to consult him about. An order had gone out a short time before to allow no women in the army, except in special cases. She was bitterly disappointed and was crying over it. Mr. Lincoln sat moodily for a moment after hearing this story, and suddenly looking up, said, 'Let's send her down. You write the order, Major.' Major Eckert hesitated a moment and said, 'Would it not be better for Colonel Hardie to write the order?' 'Yes,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'that is better; let Hardie write it.' The major went out and soon returned, saying, 'Mr. President, would it not be better in this case to let the woman's husband come to Washington?' Mr. Lincoln's face lighted up with pleasure. 'Yes, yes,' he said; 'let's bring him up.' The order was written, and the woman was told that her husband would come to Washington. This done, her sorrows seemed lifted from Mr. Lincoln's heart, and he sat down to his yellow tissue telegrams with a serene face."

The futility of trying to help all the soldiers who found their way to him must have come often to Lincoln's mind. "Now, my man, go away, *go away*," General Fry overheard him say one day to a soldier who was pleading for the President's interference in his behalf; "I cannot meddle in your case. I could

as easily bail out the Potomac with a teaspoon as attend to all the details of the army."

The President's relations with individual soldiers were, of course, transient. Washington was for the great body of soldiers, whatever their condition, only a half-way house between North and South. The only body of soldiers with which the President had long association was Company K of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers. This company, raised in Crawford County, in northwestern Pennsylvania, reached Washington in the first days of September, 1862. September 6, Captain D. V. Derickson of Meadville, Pennsylvania, who was in command of the company, received orders to march his men to the Soldiers' Home, to act there as a guard to the President, who was occupying a cottage in the grounds.

"The next morning after our arrival," says Mr. Derickson, "the President sent a messenger to my quarters, stating that he would like to see the captain of the guard at his residence. I immediately reported. After an informal introduction and handshaking, he asked me if I would have any objection to riding with him to the city. I replied that it would give me much pleasure to do so, when he invited me to take a seat in the carriage. On our way to the city, he made numerous inquiries, as to my name, where I came from, what regiment I belonged to, etc. . . .

"When we entered the city, Mr. Lincoln said he would call at General Halleck's headquarters and get what news had been received from the army during the night. I informed him that General Cullum, chief aid to General Halleck, was raised in Meadville and that I knew him when I was a boy. He replied, 'Then we must see both the gentlemen.' When the carriage stopped, he requested me to remain seated and said he would bring the gentlemen down to

see me, the office being on the second floor. In a short time the President came down, followed by the other gentlemen. When he introduced them to me, General Cullum recognized and seemed pleased to see me. In General Halleck I thought I discovered a kind of quizzical look, as much as to say, 'Isn't this rather a big joke to ask the Commander-in-Chief of the Army down to the street to be introduced to a country captain?' . . .

"Supposing that the invitation to ride to the city with the President was as much to give him an opportunity to look over and interview the new captain as for any other purpose, I did not report the next morning. During the day I was informed that it was the desire of the President that I should breakfast with him and accompany him to the White House every morning and return with him in the evening. This duty I entered upon with much pleasure and was on hand in good time next morning; and I continued to perform this duty until we moved to the White House in November. It was Mr. Lincoln's custom, on account of the pressure of business, to breakfast before the other members of the family were up; and I usually entered his room at half-past six or seven o'clock in the morning, where I often found him reading the Bible or some work on the art of war. On my entering, he would read aloud and offer comments of his own as he read.

"I usually went down to the city at four o'clock and returned with the President at five. He often carried a small portfolio containing papers relating to the business of the day and spent many hours on them in the evening. . . . I found Mr. Lincoln to be one of the most kind-hearted and pleasant gentlemen that I had ever met. He never spoke unkindly of any one and always spoke of the rebels as 'those southern gentlemen.'" *

This kindly relation, begun with the captain, the President extended to every man of his company.

* Major D. V. Derickson in the Centennial Edition of the Meadville "Tribune-Republican."

It was their pride that he knew every one of them by name. "He always called me Joe," I heard a veteran of the guard say, a quaver in his voice. He never passed the men on duty without acknowledging their salute, and often visited their camp. Once in passing when the men were at mess, he called out, "That coffee smells good, boys; give me a cup." And on another occasion he asked for a plate of beans and sat down on a camp-stool and ate them. Mrs. Lincoln frequently visited the company with the President, and many and many a gift to the White House larder from enthusisastic supporters of the Administration was sent to the boys—now a barrel of apple butter, now a quarter of beef. On holidays, Mrs. Lincoln made it a rule to provide Company K with a turkey dinner.

Late in the fall of 1862, an attempt was made to depose the company. Every member of the guard now living can quote verbatim the note which the President wrote settling the matter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
November 1, 1862.

"To Whom It May Concern: Captain Derickson, with his company, has been for some time keeping guard at my residence, now at the Soldiers' Retreat. He and his company are very agreeable to me, and while it is deemed proper for any guard to remain, none would be more satisfactory than Captain Derickson and his company. A. LINCOLN."

The welfare of the men, their troubles, escapades, amusements, were treated by the President as a kind of family matter. He never forgot to ask after the

sick, often secured a pass or a furlough for some one, and took genuine delight in the camp fun.

"While we were in camp at the Soldiers' Home in the fall of 1862," says Mr. C. M. Derickson of Mercer, Pennsylvania, "the boys indulged in various kinds of amusement. I think it was the Kepler boys who introduced the trained elephant. Two men of about the same size, both in a stooped position, were placed one ahead of the other. An army blanket was then thrown over them so that it came about to their knees, and a trunk, improvised by wrapping a piece of a blanket around a small elastic piece of wood, was placed in the hands of the front man. Here you have your elephant. Ours was taught to get down on his knees, stand on one leg, and do various other tricks. While the elephant was going through his exercises one evening, the President strolled into camp. He was very much amused at the wonderful feats the elephant could perform, and a few evenings after he called again and brought a friend with him, and asked the captain if he would not have the elephant brought out again, as he would like to have his friend see him perform. Of course it was done, to the great amusement of both the President and his friend."

No doubt much of the President's interest in Company K was due to his son Tad. The boy was a great favorite with the men and probably carried to his father many a tale of the camp. He considered himself, in fact, no unimportant part of the organization, for he wore a uniform, carried a lieutenant's commission, often drilled with the men or rode on his pony at their head in reviews, and much of the time messed with them. One of the odd duties which devolved upon Company K was looking after Tad's goats. These animals have been given a place in

history by Lincoln himself in telegrams to Mrs. Lincoln, duly filed in the records of the War Department: "Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats," he wired one day; and again: "All well, including Tad's pony and the goats." They were privileged beings on the White House lawn and were looked after by the company because of Tad's affection for them. They met an untimely end, being burned to death in a fire which destroyed the White House stables, February 10, 1864.

The two most harrowing consequences of war, the havoc of the battlefield and the disease of camp life, from the beginning to the end of the Civil War, centered in Washington. It was the point to which every man disabled in the Army of the Potomac must come sooner or later for care or to be transferred to the North. After battles, the city seemed turned into one great hospital. For days then a long, straggling train of mutilated men poured in. They came on flat cars or open transports, piled so close together that no attendant could pass between them; protected occasionally from the cold by a blanket which had escaped with its owner, or from the sun by green boughs placed in their hands or laid over their faces. When Washington was reached, all that could be done was to lay them in long rows on the wharfs or platforms until ambulances could carry them to the hospitals. It is when one considers the numbers of wounded in the great Virginia battles that he realizes the length and awfulness of the streams which flowed into Washington. At Fredericksburg they numbered 9,600; at Chancellors-

Mary Todd Lincoln

ville, 9,762; in the Wilderness, 12,037; at Spottsylvania, 13,416.

In the early days of the war Washington was so poorly supplied with hospitals that after the first battle of Bull Run churches, dwellings, and government buildings were seized to place the wounded in, and there were so few nurses that the people of Washington had to be called upon. Very rapidly little settlements of board barracks or of white army tents multiplied in the open spaces in and around the town, quarters for sick and wounded. Nurses poured in from the North. Organizations for relief multiplied. By the end of 1862, Mr. Lincoln could scarcely drive or walk in any direction about Washington without passing a hospital. Even in going to his summer cottage, at the Soldiers' Home, the President did not escape the sight of the wounded. The rolling hillside was dotted with white hospital tents during the entire war. In many places the tents were placed close to the road, so as to get more air, the grounds being more thickly wooded than they are now. As he drove home, after a harrowing day in the White House, the President frequently looked from his carriage upon the very beds of wounded soldiers.

Every member of the Government, whether he would or not, was obliged to give some attention to this side of the war. It became a regular feature of a congressman's life in those days to spend every Saturday or Sunday afternoon in the hospitals, visiting the wounded men from his district. He wrote their letters, brought them news, saw to their wants.

If he had not done it, his constituents would have disposed of him in short order.

In 1862 Mr. Lincoln called Dr. D. Willard Bliss from the field to Washington to aid in organizing a more perfect system of general hospitals in and about the city. One result of Dr. Bliss's coming was the building of Armory Square Hospital, one of the best conducted institutions of the Civil War. Lincoln gave his personal attention to the building of Armory Square, and for a long time met Dr. Bliss twice each week to consider the ingenious appliances which the latter devised to aid in caring for and treating the wounded. Some of these appliances the President paid for out of his own pocket. Not infrequently he had some suggestion to make for the comfort of the place. It was due to him that Armory Square became a bower of vine and bloom in the summer. "Why don't you plant flower seeds?" he asked Dr. Bliss one day. The doctor said he would if he had seeds. "I'll order them for you from the Agricultural Department," replied the President, and sure enough he did; and thereafter, all through the season, each of the long barracks had its own flower bed and vines.

The President himself visited the hospitals as often as he could, visits never forgotten by the men to whom he spoke as he passed up and down the wards, shaking hands here, giving a cheering word there, making jocular comments everywhere. There are men still living who tell of a little scene they witnessed at Armory Square in 1863. A soldier of the

140th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, had been wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Chancellorsville and taken to Washington. One day, as he was becoming convalescent, a whisper ran down the long row of cots that the President was in the building and would soon pass by. Instantly every boy in blue who was able arose, stood erect, hands to the side, ready to salute his Commander-in-Chief. The Pennsylvanian stood six feet seven inches in his stockings. Lincoln was six feet four. As the President approached this giant towering above him, he stopped in amazement, and, casting his eyes from head to foot and from foot to head, as if contemplating the immense distance from one extremity to the other, he stood for a moment speechless. At length, extending his hand, he exclaimed, "Hello, comrade, do you know when your feet get cold?"

Lincoln rarely forgot a patient whom he saw a second time, and to stubborn cases that remained from month to month he gave particular attention. There was in Armory Square Hospital for a long time a boy known as "little Johnnie." He was hopelessly crippled—doomed to death, but cheerful and a general favorite. Lincoln never failed to stop at "little Johnnie's" cot when he went to Armory Square, and he frequently sent him fruit and flowers and a friendly message through Mrs. Lincoln.

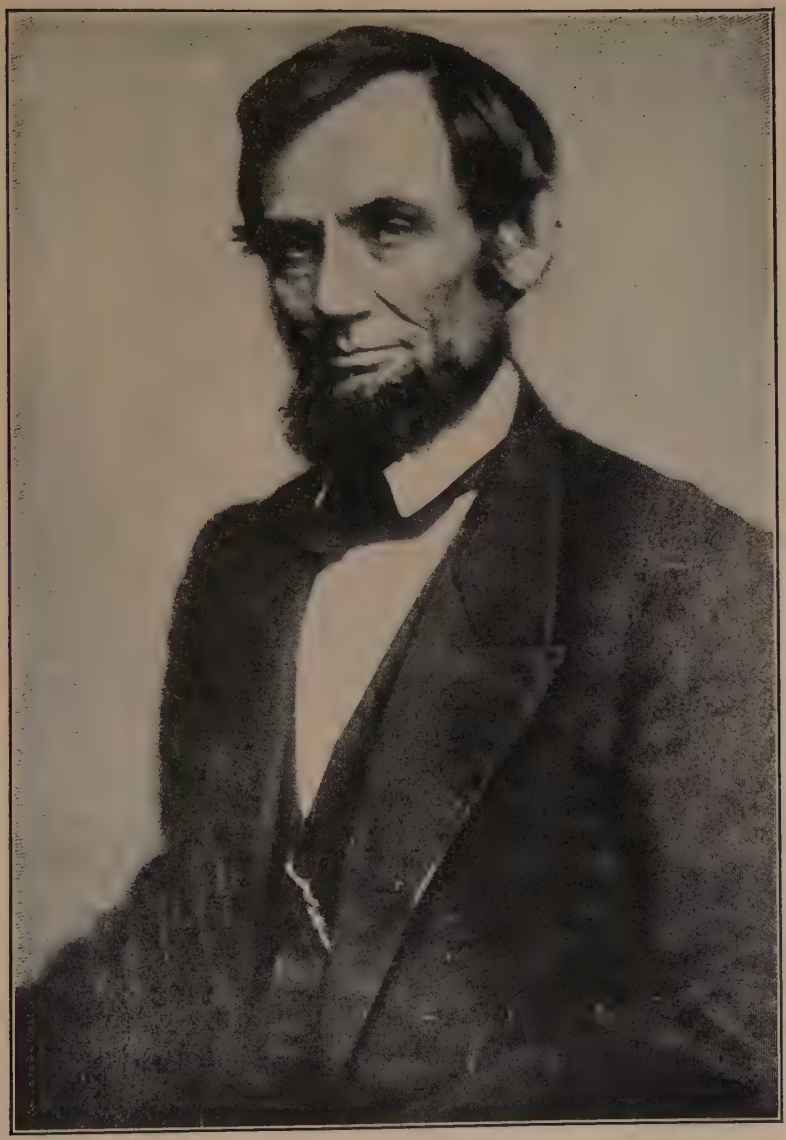
Of all the incidents told of Lincoln's hospital visits, there is nothing more characteristic, better worth preservation, than the one following, preserved by Dr. Jerome Walker of Brooklyn:

"Just one week before his assassination, President Lincolm visited the Army of the Potomac, at City Point, Virginia, and carefully examined the hospital arrangements of the Ninth, Sixth, Fifth, Second, and Sixteenth Corps hospitals and of the Engineer Corps, there stationed. At that time I was an agent of the United States Sanitary Commission attached to the Ninth Corps Hospital. Though a boy of nineteen years, to me was assigned the duty of escorting the President through our department of the hospital system. The reader can imagine the pride with which I fulfilled the duty, and as we went from tent to tent I could not but note his gentleness, his friendly greetings to the sick and wounded, his quiet humor as he drew comparisons between himself and the very tall and very short men with whom he came in contact, and his genuine interest in the welfare of the soldiers.

"Finally, after visiting the wards occupied by our invalid and convalescing soldiers, we came to three wards occupied by sick and wounded Southern prisoners. With a feeling of patriotic duty, I said, 'Mr. President, you won't want to go in there; they are only *rebels*.' I will never forget how he stopped and gently laid his large hand upon my shoulder and quietly answered, 'You mean *Confederates*.' And I have meant Confederates ever since.

"There was nothing left for me to do after the President's remark but to go with him through these three wards; and I could not see but that he was just as kind, his handshakings just as hearty, his interest just as real for the welfare of the men, as when he was among our own soldiers.

"As we returned to headquarters, the President urged upon me the importance of caring for them as faithfully as I should for our own sick and wounded. When I visited next day these three wards, the Southern officers and soldiers were full of praise for 'Abe' Lincoln, as they called him, and when a week afterwards the news came of the assassination, there was no truer sorrow nor greater indignation anywhere than was shown by these same Confederates."



LINCOLN IN 1863.

From a damaged photograph by Brady, taken in Washington.

One great cause of sorrow to Lincoln throughout the war was the necessity of punishing soldiers. Not only did the men commit all the crimes common to society, like robbery and murder; they were guilty of others peculiar to military organization and war, such as desertion, sleeping on post, disobedience to orders, bounty-jumping, giving information to the enemy. As the army grew larger, desertion became so common and so disastrous to efficiency that it had to be treated with great severity. Lincoln seems to have had his attention first called to it seriously when he visited McClellan's army in July, 1862, for he wrote to McClellan, July 13:

"*My Dear Sir:* I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be accounted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5,000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army still alive and not with it. I believe half or two-thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers for the future?

A. Lincoln."

About the same time, Buell reported 14,000 absentees from his army. In the winter of 1862 and 1863 it grew worse. General Hooker says that when he took charge of the Army of the Potomac in January, 1863, the desertions were at the rate of 200

a day. "I caused a return to be made of the absentees of the army," he continues, "and found the number to be 2,922 commissioned officers and 81,964 non-commissioned officers and privates. These were scattered all over the country, and the majority were absent from causes unknown."

When the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal was established in March, 1863, finding and punishing deserters became one of its duties. Much of the difficulty was due to the methods of recruiting. To stimulate volunteering for long periods, the Government began in 1861 to offer bounties. The bounties offered by the Government were never large, however, and were paid in installments, so that no great evil resulted from them. But later, when the quota of each state and district was fixed, and the draft instituted, state and local bounties were added to those of the Government. In some places the bounties offered aggregated $1,500, a large part of which was paid on enlistment. Immediately a new class of military criminals sprang up, "bounty-jumpers," men who enlisted, drew the bounty, deserted, and reënlisted at some other point.

The law allowed men who had been drafted to send substitutes, and a new class of speculators, known as "substitute-brokers," appeared. They did a thriving business in procuring substitutes for drafted men who, for one reason or another, did not want to go into the war. These recruits were frequently of a very poor class, and a large percentage of them took the first chance to desert. It is said that, out

of 625 recruits sent to re-enforce one regiment, over 40 per cent. deserted on the way. In the general report of the Provost-Marshal-General made at the close of the war the aggregate deserting was given at 201,397.

The result of all this was that the severest penalties were enforced for desertion. The President never ceased to abhor the death penalty for this offense. While he had as little sympathy as Stanton himself with the frauds practised and never commuted the sentence of a bounty-jumper, as far as I have been able to discover, over the great number of sentences he hesitated. He seemed to see what others ignored,—the causes which were behind. Many and many a man deserted in the winter of 1862-1863 because of the Emancipation Proclamation. He did not believe the President had the right to issue it, and he refused to fight. Lincoln knew, too, that the "copperhead" agitation in the North reached the army, and that hundreds of men were being urged by parents and friends hostile to the Administration to desert. His indignation never was against the boy who yielded to this influence.

"Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts," he said, "while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall

desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy."

Another cause he never forgot was that mortal homesickness which so often ate the very heart out of a boy away from home for the first time. It filled many a hospital cot in the Civil War and shriveled the nerves and sapped the courage until men forgot everything but home and fled. Lincoln seemed to see in a flash the whole army history of these cases: the boy enlisting in the thrill of perhaps his first great passion; his triumphal march to the field; the long, hard months of seasoning; the deadly longing for home overtaking him; a chance to desert taken; the capture. He could not condemn such a boy to death.

The time Lincoln gave to listening to the intercessions of friends in behalf of condemned deserters, the extent of his clemency, is graphically shown in the manuscript records of the War Department which refer to prisoners of war. Scores of telegrams are filed there, written out by Lincoln himself, inquiring into the reasons for an execution or suspending it entirely. These telegrams furnish the documentary proof, if any is wanted, of the man's great heart, his entire willingness to give himself infinite trouble to prevent an injustice or to soften a sorrow. "Suspend execution and forward record for examination," * was his usual formula for telegrams of this nature. The record would be sent, but after it was in his hands

* See Appendix.

he would defer its examination from week to week. Often he telegraphed, "Suspend execution of death sentence until further orders." "But that does not pardon my boy," said a father to him once.

"My dear man," said the President, laying his hand on his shoulder, "do you suppose *I* will ever give orders for your boy's execution?"

In sending these orders for suspension of execution the President frequently went himself personally to the telegraph office and watched the operator send them, so afraid was he that they might not be forwarded in time. To dozens of the orders sent over from the White House by a messenger was attached a little note signed by Mr. Lincoln, or by one of his secretaries, and directed to Major Eckert, the chief of the office: "Major Eckert, please send above despatch," or "Will you please hurry off the above? To-morrow is the day of execution." Not infrequently he repeated a telegram or sent a trailer after it inquiring, "Did you receive my despatch suspending sentence of ——?"

Difficulty in tracing a prisoner or in identifying him sometimes arose. The President only took additional pains. The following telegrams are to the point:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 20, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE,
"ARMY OF POTOMAC.

"If there is a man by the name of K—— under sentence to be shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record.

A. LINCOLN."

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 20, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE,
"ARMY OF POTOMAC.

"An intelligent woman in deep distress called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of the Potomac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify it, except her own signature, which seems to be Mrs. A—— S. K.——. I could not again find her. If you have a case which you think is probably the one intended, please apply my despatch of this morning to it.

A. LINCOLN."

In another case, where the whereabouts of a man who had been condemned were unknown, Lincoln telegraphed himself to four different military commanders, ordering suspension of the man's sentence.

The execution of very young soldiers was always hateful to him. "I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot," he telegraphed Meade in reference to one prisoner. And in suspending another sentence he gave as an excuse, "His mother says he is but seventeen." This boy he afterward pardoned "on account of his tender age."

If a reason for pardoning was not evident, he was willing to see if one could not be found:

"S—— W——, private in —— ——, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

"A. LINCOLN."

Some of the deserters came very close to his own life. The son of more than one old friend was condemned for a military offense in the war, and in the telegrams is recorded Lincoln's treatment of these trying cases. In one of them the boy had enlisted in the Southern Army and had been taken a prisoner. "Please send him to me by an officer," the President telegraphed the military commander having him in charge. Four days later he telegraphed to the boy's father:

"Your son —— has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him and send him to you."

In another case, where the son of a friend was under trial for desertion Lincoln kept himself informed of the trial, telegraphing to the general in charge, "He is the son of so close a friend that I must not let him be executed."

And yet, in spite of the evident reluctance which every telegram shows to allowing the execution of a death sentence, there are many which prove that, unless he had what he considered a good reason for suspending a sentence, he would not do it. The following telegrams are illustrative:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 23, 1863.

"E. P. EVANS,
"WEST UNION, ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO.

"Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of J—— A. W—— is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert, and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose

without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters? A. Lincoln."

In this case sentence was later suspended "until further orders."

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., *April* 21, 1864.

"Major-General Dix,

"New York.

"Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Massachusetts, suspending the execution of C—— C——, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now, on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same order withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

"A. Lincoln."

War Department,
Washington City, *April* 25, 1864.

"Major-General Meade,

"Army of Potomac.

"A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition, I believe, in the case of D——, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere. A. Lincoln."

It is curious to note how the President found time to attend to these cases even on the most anxious days

of his administration. On the very day on which he telegraphed to James G. Blaine in response to the latter's announcement that Maine had gone for the Union, "On behalf of the Union, thanks to Maine. Thanks to you personally for sending the news," he sent two telegrams suspending sentences. Such telegrams were sent on days of great battles, in the midst of victory, in the despair of defeat. Whatever he was doing, the fate of the sentenced soldier was on his heart. On Friday, which was usually chosen as execution day, he often was heard to say, "They are shooting a boy at —— to-day. I hope I have not done wrong to allow it." In spite of his frequent interference there were 267 men executed by the United States military authorities during the Civil War. Of these, 141 were executed for desertion, and 8 for desertion coupled with some other crime, such as murder. After those for desertion, the largest number of executions were for murder, 67 in all. As to the manner of the executions, 187 were shot, 79 hung, and in one case the offender was sent out of the world by some unknown way.

Incidents and documents like those already given, showing the care and sympathy President Lincoln felt for the common soldier, might be multiplied indefinitely. Nothing that concerned the life of the men in the line was foreign to him. The man might have shown cowardice. The President only said, "I never felt sure but I might drop my gun and run away if I found myself in line of battle." The man might be poor and friendless. "If he has no friends, I'll be his friend," Lincoln said. The man might

have deserted. "Suspend execution, send me his record," was the President's order. He was not only the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, he was the father of the army, and never did a man better deserve a title than did he the one the soldiers gave him—"Father Abraham."

CHAPTER XXVIII

LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION IN 1864

IT was not until the fall of 1863 that Abraham Lincoln was able to point to any substantial results from the long months of hard thought and cautious experiment he had given to the Civil War. By that time he did have something to show. The borders of the Confederacy had been pressed back and shut in by an impregnable wall of ships and men. Not only were the borders of the Confederacy narrowed, the territory had been cut in two by the opening of the Mississippi, which, in Lincoln's expressive phrase, now ran "unvexed to the sea." He had a war machine at last which kept the ranks of the army full. He had found a commander-in-chief in Grant and, not less important, he had found, simultaneously with Grant, also Sherman, McPherson, and Thomas, as well as the proper places for the men with whom he had tried such costly experiments—for Burnside and Hooker. He had his first effective results, too, from emancipation, that policy which he had inaugurated with such foreboding. Fully 100,000 former slaves were now in the United States service, and they had proved beyond question their value

as soldiers. More than this, it was evident that some form of emancipation would soon be adopted by the former slave States of Tennessee, Arkansas, Maryland, and Missouri.

At every point, in short, the policy which Lincoln had set in motion with painful foresight and labor was working as he had believed it would work, but it was working slowly. He saw that many months of struggle and blood and patience were needed to complete his task; many months—and in less than a year there would be a presidential election, and he might be obliged to leave his task unfinished. He did not hesitate to say frankly that he wanted the opportunity to finish it. Among the leaders of the Republican Party were a few conservatives who, in the fall of 1863, supported Lincoln in his desire for a second term; but there were more who doubted his ability and who were secretly looking for an abler man. At the same time, a strong and open opposition to his reëlection had developed in the radical wing of the party.

The real cause of this opposition was Lincoln's unswervable purpose to use emancipation purely as a military measure. The earliest active form this opposition took was probably under the direction of Horace Greeley. By the spring of 1863, Mr. Greeley had become thoroughly disheartened by the slow progress of the war and the meager results of the Emancipation Proclamation. He was looking in every direction for some one to replace Lincoln, and eventually he settled on General Rosecrans, who at that moment was the most successful general before the country.

Greeley, after consulting with a number of Republican leaders, decided that some one should go to Rosecrans and sound him. James R. Gilmore ("Edmund Kirke") was chosen for this mission. Mr. Gilmore recounts, in his "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," as an evidence of the extent of the discontent with Lincoln, that when he started on his mission, Mr. Greeley gave him letters to Rosecrans from about all the more prominent Republican leaders except Roscoe Conkling, Charles Sumner, and Henry Wilson.

Mr. Greeley's idea was, as he instructed Mr. Gilmore, to find out, first, if Rosecrans was "sound on the goose" (political slang for sound on the anti-slavery policy), and, secondly, if he would consider the nomination to the presidency. If Mr. Gilmore found Rosecrans satisfactory, Greeley declared that he would force Lincoln to resign, put Hamlin in his place, and compel the latter to give Rosecrans the command of the whole army. His idea was, no doubt, that the war would then be finished promptly and Rosecrans would naturally be the candidate in 1864.

Mr. Gilmore went on his mission. Rosecrans seemed to him to fulfil Mr. Greeley's ideas, and finally he laid the case before him. The General replied very promptly: "My place is here. The country gave me my education and so has a right to my military services." He also declared that Mr. Greeley was wrong in his estimate of Lincoln and that time would show it.

Lincoln knew thoroughly the feeling of the Radicals at this time; he knew the danger there was to

his hopes of a second term in opposing them; but he could be neither persuaded nor frightened into modifying his policy. The most conspicuous example of his firmness was in the case of the Missouri Radicals.

The Radical Party in Missouri was composed of men of intelligence and loyalty; but they were men of the Frémont type, idealists, incapable of compromise and impatient of caution. They had been in constant conflict with the Conservatives of the state since the breaking out of the war, and by the spring of 1863 the rupture had become almost a national affair. Both sides claimed to be Union men and to believe in emancipation; but while the Conservatives believed in gradual emancipation, the Radicals demanded that it be immediate. The fight became so bitter that, as Lincoln said to one of the Radicals who came to him early in 1863, begging his interference: "Either party would rather see the defeat of their adversary than that of Jefferson Davis. You ought to have your heads knocked together," he added in his exasperation.

Finally, he determined that he must break up somehow what he called their "pestilent, factional quarrel," and sent a new military governor, General J. M. Schofield, to Missouri. The advice he gave him was this:

"Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will prob-

LINCOLN IN 1863 OR 1864.

From a photograph by Brady, and kindly loaned by Mr. Noah Brooks for this reproduction.

ably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other."

General Schofield was not able to live up to Lincoln's counsel. He incurred the suspicion and dislike of the Radicals, and they determined that he must be removed. September 1, a great convention was held, and a committee of seventy persons was appointed to go to Washington and demand from Mr. Lincoln a redress of grievances. The convention of course had the sympathy of the radical anti-slavery element of the whole North in its undertaking, and when the Committee of Seventy started for Washington they received an ovation in almost every state through which they passed. Arrived in Washington, they became the centre of the town's interest and a great reception was given them in Union League Hall, at which eminent men denounced the Conservatives of Missouri and demanded immediate emancipation.

Mr. Lincoln did not receive the committee at once, but sent for their Secretary, Dr. Emil Preetorius, a leading German Radical. Mr. Preetorius says:

"In response to a request from the President himself I immediately, in company with Senator 'Jim' Lane, called at the White House. Mr. Lane soon excused himself and left me alone with the President. I had a long talk with him, explaining the situation in Missouri, as we Radicals viewed it, and stating just why we had come to Washington. We Germans had not felt so kindly toward Mr. Lincoln since he had set aside Frémont's proclamation of emancipation. We thought he had missed a great opportunity and had thereby displayed a lack of statesmanship. We believed him

to be under the influence of the Blair family. Now that he himself had issued an emancipation proclamation we felt wronged because it applied only to the states in rebellion, and not to our own state. 'Thus,' I said to the President, 'you are really punishing us for our courage and patriotism.' We felt, as Gratz Brown expressed it, that we had to fight three administrations—Lincoln's, Jeff Davis's, and our own Governor Gamble's. We felt that we had a right to complain because Lincoln sent out to Missouri generals that were not in sympathy with us.

"Our talk was of the very frankest kind. Lincoln said he knew I was a German revolutionist and expected me to take extreme views. I recollect distinctly his statement that he would rather be a follower than a leader of public opinion. He had reference to public opinion in the Border States. 'We need the Border States,' said he. 'Public opinion in them has not matured. We must patiently educate them up to the right opinion.' The situation at that time was less favorable in the other Border States than in Missouri. Their Union men had not the strong fighters that Missouri had. As things were then going, the attitude of the Border States was of the very highest importance. I could realize that the more fully as Lincoln argued the case."

An arrangement was made for the President to receive the committee on September 30 and hear their statement of grievances. The imposing procession of delegates went to the White House at nine o'clock in the morning. At the committee's own request, all reporters and spectators were refused admission to the audience, only the President and one of his secretaries meeting them. Even the great front doors of the White House were locked during the forenoon.

The conference began by the reading of an address

which denounced the Conservative Party, and demanded that General Schofield be removed and General Benjamin F. Butler be put in his place, and that the enrolled militia of the state be discharged and national troops replace them.

After the reading of the address, the President replied. Mr. Enos Clarke of St. Louis, who was one of the delegates, records the impression this reply made upon his mind:

"The President listened with patient attention to our address," says Mr. Clarke, "and at the conclusion of the reading replied at length. I shall never forget the intense chagrin and disappointment we all felt at the treatment of the matter in the beginning of his reply. He seemed to belittle and minimize the importance of our grievances and to give magnitude to minor or unimportant matters. He gave us the impression of a pettifogger speaking before a justice of the peace jury. But as he talked on and made searching inquiries of members of the delegation and invited debate, it became manifest that his manner at the beginning was really the foil of a master, to develop the weakness of the presentation. Before the conclusion of the conference, he addressed himself to the whole matter in an elevated, dignified, exhaustive, and impressive manner.

"There was no report made of this conference, but I remember that Mr. Lincoln made this statement: 'You gentlemen must bear in mind that in performing the duties of the office I hold I must represent no one section of the Union, but I must act for all sections of the Union in trying to maintain the supremacy of the government.' And he also said this: 'I desire to so conduct the affairs of this Administration that if, at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside of me.' These were characteristic expressions.

"Toward the conclusion of the conference and after the whole matter had been exhaustively discussed by the President and the petitioners, Mr. C. D. Drake, our chairman, stepped forward and said: 'Mr. President, the time has now come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention, but must take leave of you'; and in those deep, impressive, stentorian tones peculiar to Mr. Drake, he added, 'Many of these men who stand before you to-day return to inhospitable homes, where rebel sentiments prevail, and many of them, sir, in returning there do so at the risk of their lives, and if any of those lives are sacrificed by reason of the military administration of this government, let me tell you, sir, that their blood will be upon your garments and not upon ours.'

"During this impressive address the President stood before the delegation with tears streaming down his cheeks, seeming deeply agitated.

"The members of the delegation were then presented individually to the President and took leave of him. I shall always remember my last sight of Mr. Lincoln as we left the room. I was withdrawing, in company with others, and as I passed out I chanced to look back. Mr. Lincoln had met some personal acquaintances with whom he was exchanging pleasantries, and instead of the tears of a few moments before, he was indulging in hearty laughter. This rapid and wonderful transition from one extreme to the other impressed me greatly."

Ex-Governor Johnson of Missouri, another member of the committee, says of Lincoln's reply to their address:

"The President in the course of his reply hesitated a great deal and was manifestly, as he said, very much troubled over the condition of affairs in Missouri. He said he was sorry there should be such divisions and dissensions; that they were a source of more anxiety to him than we could

imagine. He expressed his appreciation of the zeal of the Radical men, but sometimes thought they did not understand the real situation. He besought us not to get out of humor because things were not going as rapidly as we thought they should. The war, he pointed out, affected a much larger territory than that embraced within the borders of Missouri, and possibly he had better opportunities of judging of things than some of us gentlemen. He spoke with great kindness, but all the way through showed his profound regret at the condition of affairs in our state. He regretted especially that some of the men who had founded the Republican Party should now be arrayed apparently against his administration.

"I had met Mr. Lincoln twice before then. This time he appeared different from what he had on the two former occasions. There was a perplexed look on his face. When he said he was bothered about this thing, he showed it. He spoke kindly, yet now and then there was a little rasping tone in his voice that seemed to say: 'You men ought to fix this thing up without tormenting me.' But he never lost his temper."

One of Mr. Lincoln's secretaries was present at this conference and made notes on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the delegation. The following sentences quoted from these notes in Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln" show still further how plainly the President dealt with the committee:

"Your ideas of justice seem to depend on the application of it.

"When you see a man loyally in favor of the Union—willing to vote men and money—spending his time and money and throwing his influence into the recruitment of our armies, I think it ungenerous, unjust, and impolitic to make views on abstract political questions a test of his loyalty. I will not be a party to this application of a pocket inquisition.

"You appear to come before me as my friends, if I agree with you, and not otherwise. I do not here speak of mere personal friendship. When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly to my measures, to the policy of the Government. I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation—I shall not name them—I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with 'tyranny and wilfulness,' with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one."

Mr. Lincoln then sent the committee away, promising to reply by letter to their address. The events of the next day showed him more plainly than ever what a following they had. The night after the conference, Secretary Chase gave them a great reception at his house. He did not hesitate to say, in the course of the evening, that he was heartily in sympathy with their mission and that he hoped their military department would be entrusted to a gentleman whose motto was "Freedom for all." Going on to New York, the committee were given a great and enthusiastic meeting at Cooper Union: William Cullen Bryant made a sympathetic speech, and various members of the committee indulged in violent denunciations of the conservative element of the country, and did not hesitate to threaten Mr. Lincoln with revolutionary action if he did not yield to their demands.

Mr. Lincoln of course was not insensible to the political power of the Missouri Radicals. He knew that this was a test case. He knew that they made their issue at a critical time for him, it being the eve

of the fall elections. So important did his supporters consider it that he do something to pacify radical sentiment that Mr. Leonard Swett, one of his most intimate friends, and one heartily in sympathy with his policy, urged him, one day in October, to take a more advanced position and recommend in his annual message a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery:

"Turning to me suddenly, he said, 'Is not the question of emancipation doing well enough now?' I replied it was. 'Well,' said he, 'I have never done an official act with a view to promote my own personal aggrandizement, and I don't like to begin now. I can see that emancipation is coming; whoever can wait for it will see it; whoever stands in its way will be run over by it.'"

In spite of the pressure and threats of the Committee of Seventy Lincoln, when he answered their letter on October 5, yielded to none of their demands. He would not remove General Schofield. He would not discharge the enrolled militia.

He repeated that they were acting as factionists, declared that they had failed to convince him that General Schofield and the enrolled militia which they charged caused the suffering of the Union Party in the state were responsible, and in a few remarkable paragraphs described what in his opinion was the cause of the trouble in Missouri:

"We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even

among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without slavery—those for it without, but not with—and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.

"Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be amongst honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general."

He closed his letter refusing their requests with a few of those resolute sentences of which he was capable when he had made up his mind to do a thing in spite of all opposition:

"I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The

public knows it all. It obliged nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to bear all, but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear."

There was no mistaking this letter of Lincoln. It told the Radicals not only of Missouri, but of the whole North, that the President was not to be removed from his emancipation policy.

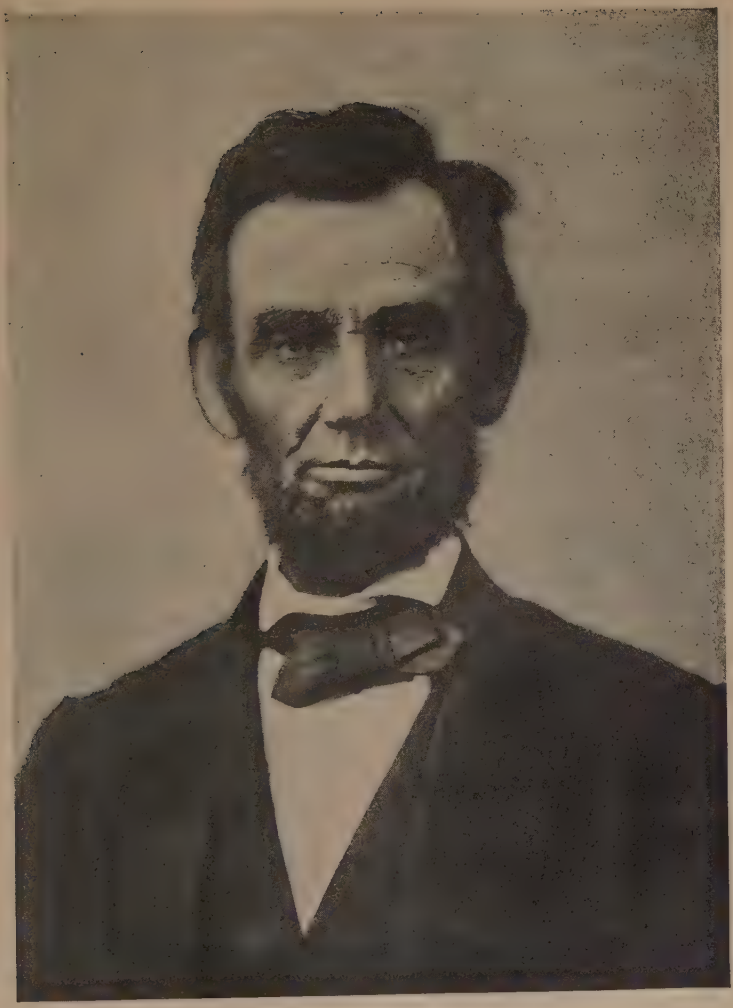
Another complaint which many Republicans as well as all Democrats made against Mr. Lincoln in 1864, was his interpretation of what constituted treason against the government. Their dissatisfaction culminated in what is known as the Vallandigham case. Mr. Vallandigham was an Ohio Democrat of the Copperhead variety who, from the beginning, had opposed the war, although declaring himself for the Union. In the spring of 1863 his attacks on the Administration were particularly virulent. He accused the government of not being willing to meet the Confederacy and arrange a peace, of being unconstitutional in enforcing the draft and of making arbitrary military arrests and imprisonments. The party which he represented seemed to be growing in influence every day, and it was known that the efficiency of the army in the winter of 1862-63 had been seri-

ously undermined by the influence of the Copperhead element at home. Mr. Lincoln was opposed to noticing any opposition of this kind unless driven to it, but not all of his subordinates felt the same way. Some of the generals in the army were especially incensed by it, among them General Burnside, then at the head of the Department of the Ohio, who, on April 13, 1863, issued an order in which he said:

"The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested with a view to being tried as above stated or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.

"It must be distinctly understood that treason expressed or implied will not be tolerated in this department."

Mr. Vallandigham was angered by this order and in public addresses declared it a "base usurpation of arbitrary authority," which he should resist. General Burnside retaliated by ordering Vallandigham's arrest at Dayton, Ohio, after a public address in which he had declared among other things that the present war was a "wicked, cruel and unnecessary war"; "a war not being waged for the preservation of the Union"; "a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism"; "a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the white"; stating "that if the Administration had so wished the war could have been honorably terminated months ago"; that "peace might have been honorably obtained by listening to the proposed intermediation of France," etc., etc.



A. Lincoln

From Gardner Portrait, 1864.

Vallandigham was tried soon after arrest by a military commission, pronounced guilty and sentenced to "close confinement in some fortress of the United States." The arrest, the trial by military instead of by civil court, the sentence, aroused a tremendous outcry throughout the country. The best newspapers, including the New York "Evening Post" and the New York "Tribune" condemned the government. Protests and applications for his release poured in upon the President.

It is probable that Mr. Lincoln regretted the arrest of Vallandigham, for he wrote Burnside afterward: "All the Cabinet regret the necessity of arresting . . . Vallandigham, some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it; but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it." Lincoln had, however, no idea of releasing Vallandigham. His one concern was to prevent the prisoner appearing to the country as a martyr for liberty, the victim of tyranny, and, taking the hint from Burnside's order, he directed that "the prisoner be put beyond our military lines," that is, that he be sent over to the Confederates. General Burnside objected to this. His earnestness had so blinded his sense of humor that he did not see that this disposition of the prisoner would take away much of the sympathy and dignity which must always attend the tragedy of close confinement. Mr. Lincoln insisted, and finally Vallandigham, attended only by a military escort, was secretly conducted under a flag of truce within the lines of the Confederate general, Braxton Bragg.

There was nothing heroic about this turn in the

affair. Vallandigham protested vehemently that he was not a sympathizer of the South, that he was for the Union. The Confederates were as disgusted as the prisoner. Mr. Lincoln, they said to one another, intends to make a Botany Bay of the Confederacy. The Confederate Secretary of War wrote General Bragg in a rather irritable tone that it was clearly an abuse of the flag of truce to employ it to cover a guard over expelled citizens, non-combatants. An old friend of Vallandigham in Virginia offered the government to give him a home if he desired to remain in the Confederacy, but both Vallandigham and the Confederates saw the absurdity of the situation and desired only that it be changed as quickly as possible. Considerable correspondence passed between the prisoner and the authorities with the result that on June 2, Jefferson Davis ordered General Bragg to send Vallandigham, as an alien enemy, under guard of an officer, to Wilmington, and the Secretary of War wrote to the commmissioner having the prisoner in charge, the following directions:

". . . It is not the desire or purpose of this government to treat this victim of unjust and arbitrary power with other than lenity and consideration, but as an alien enemy he cannot be received to friendly hospitality or allowed a continued refuge in freedom in our midst. This is due alike to our safety and to him in his acknowledged position as an enemy. You have therefore been charged with the duty, not inappropriate to the commission you hold in relation to prisoners, etc., of meeting him in Lynchburg and there assuming direction and control of his future movements. He must be regarded by you as under arrest, permitted, unless in your discretion you deem it necessary to revoke the privilege, to

be at large on his parole not to attempt to escape nor hereafter to reveal to the prejudice of the Confederate States anything he may see or learn while therein. You will see that he is not molested or assailed or unduly intruded upon, and extend to him the attentions and kind treatment consistent with his relations as an alien enemy. After a reasonable delay with him at Lynchburg, to allow rest and recreation from the fatigue of his recent exposure and travel, you will proceed with him to Wilmington, N. C., and there deliver him to the charge of Major-General Whiting, commanding in that district, by whom he will be allowed at an early convenient opportunity to take shipping for any neutral port he may prefer, whether in Europe, the Islands, or on this Continent. More full instructions on this point will be given to General Whiting, and your duty will be discharged when you shall have conducted Mr. Vallandigham to Wilmington and placed him at the disposition of that commander."

These directions were carried out and Vallandigham sailed for Bermuda and thence for Halifax. August 27 the Provost-Marshal-General was notified that he was at Windsor, opposite Detroit.

Although Lincoln, by his adroit disposition of Vallandigham, had taken much of the dignity out of his position, his supporters were determined to make the matter an issue, and on May 19 the New York Democrats, and again on June 26, the Ohio Democrats, while urging their loyalty to the Union protested against the arrest, and called upon the President to restore the exile to his home. Such arrests and trials as his were, they declared, contrary to the Constitution, a violation of the right of free speech and the right to a fair trial. On June 12 and June 29 Lincoln replied respectively to these protests in

letters in which he defended his course. Only the briefest extract can be given here, but they show the clearness and boldness of his argument.

". . . The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not.

". . . he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

"Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that, 'the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' is the provision which specially applies to our present case.

. . . . . .

"Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandingham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made

on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

"I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment.

. . . . . .

"If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life."

The Democrats called the letter despotic, but the people saw the sound sense of the arguments, and

when in the fall Vallandigham, still in exile, was run for Governor of Ohio, he was defeated by over 100,000 votes. When a few months later he dared the President, came back and began to make violent speeches, no attention was paid to him. The right of the President to suppress any man who hurt the army and thus the Union cause was clearly fixed in the people's mind. If anybody wavered, Lincoln's letters were brought out. Vallandigham henceforth rather helped than injured the President.

The first effect of Lincoln's resolution in enforcing his own policy was to stimulate the search his opponents were making for a man to put in his place. At that time—the fall of 1863—Grant was the military hero of the country, and his name began to be urged for the Presidency. Now Lincoln had never seen Grant. Was he a man whose head could be turned by a sudden notoriety? Could it be that, just as he had found the commander for whom he had searched so long, he was to lose him through a burst of popular gratitude and hero-worship? He decided to find out Grant's feeling. He did this through Mr. J. Russell Jones of Chicago, a friend of the General.

"In 1863," says Mr. Jones, "some of the newspapers, especially the New York 'Herald,' were trying to boom Grant for the Presidency.* While General Grant was at Chattanooga, I wrote him, in substance, that I did not wish to meddle with his affairs, but that I could not resist suggesting that he pay no attention to what the newspapers were saying in that connection. He immediately replied, saying

* The "Herald" published its first editorial advocating Grant on December 15, 1863. It was headed, "Grant as the People's Candidate."

that everything of that nature which reached him went into the waste-basket; that he felt he had as big a job on hand as one man need desire; that his only ambition was to suppress the rebellion; and that, even if he had a desire to be President, he could not possibly entertain the thought of becoming a candidate for the office, nor of accepting a nomination were one tendered him, so long as there was a possibility of keeping Mr. Lincoln in the presidential chair. The whole spirit of his letter was one of the most perfect devotion to Lincoln.

"Before this letter reached me, however, President Lincoln telegraphed me to come to Washington. The telegram gave no hint of the business upon which he wished to see me, and I had no information upon which to found even a suspicion of its nature. On my way to the train I stopped at my office, in the post-office building, and in passing my box in the post-office I opened it and took out several letters. I put them into my pocket and did not look at them until after I had gotten aboard the train. I then discovered that one of the letters was from General Grant; it was the letter of which I have already spoken. The circumstance has always seemed to me to have been providential.

"Upon my arrival at Washington, I sent word to the President that I had arrived and would be glad to call whenever it was most convenient and agreeable for him to receive me. He sent back a request for me to call that evening at eight o'clock. I went to the White House at that hour.

"When the President had gotten through with the persons with whom he was engaged, I was invited into his room. The President then gave directions to say to all that he was engaged for the evening. Mr. Lincoln opened the conversation by saying that he was anxious to see somebody from the West with whom he could talk upon the general situation and had therefore sent for me. Mr. Lincoln made no allusion whatever to Grant. I had been there but a few minutes, however, when I fancied he would like to talk about Grant, and I interrupted him by saying:

"'Mr. President, if you will excuse me for interrupting you, I want to ask you kindly to read a letter I got from my box as I was on my way to the train.'

"Whereupon I gave him Grant's letter. He read it with evident interest. When he came to the part where Grant said that it would be impossible for him to think of the presidency as long as there was a possibility of retaining Mr. Lincoln in the office, he read no further, but arose and, approaching me, put his hand on my shoulder and said:

"'My son, you will never know how gratifying that is to me. No man knows, when that presidential grub gets to gnawing at him, just how deep it will get until he has tried it; and I didn't know but what there was one gnawing at Grant.'

"The fact was that this was just what Mr. Lincoln wanted to know. He had said to Congressman Washburne, as I afterwards ascertained:

"'About all I know of Grant I have got from you. I have never seen him. Who else besides you knows anything about Grant?'

"Washburne replied:

"'I know very little about him. He is my townsman, but I never saw very much of him. The only man who really knows Grant is Jones. He has summered and wintered with him.' (This was an allusion to the winter I spent with Grant in Mississippi, at the time Van Dorn got into Holly Springs.)

"It was this statement of Washburne's which caused Lincoln to telegraph me to come to Washington."

But there were other names than Grant's in the mouth of the opposition. All through the winter of 1863-1864, in fact, the great majority of the Republican leaders were discussing different candidates. One of the men whom they approached was the Vice President, Hannibal Hamlin. He was a man of

MR. LINCOLN AND HIS SON THOMAS, "TAD." ABOUT 1864. BY BRADY.

strong anti-slavery feeling, and it was well known that Lincoln never had gone fast enough to suit him. Would he accept the candidacy? he was asked. Mr. Hamlin would not listen to the suggestion. Lincoln, he said, was his friend. Their views were not always the same, but he believed in Lincoln and would not be untrue to his official relation. Not every member of the official family, however, had the same sense of loyalty. Indeed, before the end of 1863, an active campaign for the nomination was being conducted by one of the members of the Cabinet, Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Chase had been a rival of Lincoln in 1860. He had gone into the Cabinet with a feeling very like that of Mr. Seward, that Lincoln was an inexperienced man, incapable of handling the situation, and that he or Mr. Seward would be the premier. Mr. Seward soon found that Lincoln was the master, and he was great enough to acknowledge the supremacy. But Mr. Chase was never able to realize Lincoln's superiority. He continued to regard him as an inferior and seemed to believe, honestly enough, that the people would prefer himself as President if they could only have an opportunity to vote for him. All through the winter of 1863-1864 he carried on a voluminous private correspondence in the interests of his nomination, and about the middle of the winter he consented that his name be submitted to the people. The first conspicuous effort to promote his candidacy was a circular marked "confidential," sent out in February, 1864, by Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, calling on the country to organize in behalf

of Mr. Chase. The Secretary hastened to assure Mr. Lincoln that he knew nothing of this circular until he saw it in the newspapers, but he confessed that he had consented that his name be used as a presidential candidate and said that if Mr. Lincoln felt that this impaired his usefulness as Secretary of the Treasury, he did not wish to continue in his position.

Lincoln had known for many months of Mr. Chase's anxiety for the nomination, but he had studiously ignored it. He could not be persuaded by anybody to do anything to interrupt Mr. Chase's electioneering. Now that the Secretary had called his attention to the matter of the circular, however, he replied courteously, though indifferently:

". . . My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote; but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which, I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. . . .

"Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change."

Mr. Chase was free, as far as Lincoln was concerned, to conduct his presidential campaign from his

seat in the Cabinet. But the Republicans of his state were not willing that he should do so, and three days after the Pomeroy circular first appeared in print, the Union members of the legislature demanded, in the name of the people and of the soldiers of Ohio, that Lincoln be renominated. There was nothing to do then but for Mr. Chase to withdraw.

Indeed, it was already becoming evident to Lincoln's most determined antagonists in the party that it would be useless for them to try to nominate anybody else. On all sides—in state legislatures, Union leagues, caucuses—the people were demanding that Lincoln be renominated. The case was a curious one. Four years before Lincoln had been nominated for the Presidency of the United States because he was an available candidate, not from any general confidence that he was the best man in the Republican Party for the place. Now, on the contrary, it was declared that he would have to be nominated because he had won the confidence of the people so completely that no candidate would have any chance against him. In four years he had risen from a position of comparative obscurity to be the most generally trusted man in the North. The great reason for this confidence was that the people understood exactly what he was trying to do and why he was trying to do it. From the beginning of his Administration Lincoln had taken the people into his confidence. Whenever a strong opposition to his policy developed in any quarter, it was his habit to explain in a public letter exactly why he was doing what he was doing, and why he was not doing the

thing he was urged to do. He had written such a letter to Greeley in August, 1862, explaining his view of the relation of emancipation to the war; such were his letters in June, 1863, replying to the Democrats of New York and Ohio who protested against the arrest of Vallandigham for treasonable speech; such his letter to James C. Conkling in August, 1863, explaining his views of peace, of emancipation, of colored troops. These public letters are Lincoln's most remarkable state papers. They are invincible in their logic and incomparable in their simplicity and lucidity of expression. By means of them he convinced the people of his own rigid mental honesty, put reasons for his actions into their mouths, gave them explanations which were demonstrations. They believed in him because he had been frank with them, and because he tried to make matters so clear to them, used words they could understand, kept the principle free from all non-essential and partisan considerations.

Scarcely less important than these letters in convincing the people of the wisdom of his policy were Lincoln's stories and sayings. In February, 1864, just after the popular demand for his renomination began to develop, the New York "Evening Post" published some two columns of Lincoln's stories. The New York "Herald" jeered at the collection as the "first electioneering document" of the campaign and reprinted them as a proof of the unfitness of Lincoln for the presidency. But jeer as it would, the "Herald" could not hide from its readers the wit and the philosophy of the jokes. Every one of them had

been used to explain a point or to settle a question, and under their laughter was concealed some of the man's soundest reasoning. Indeed, at that very moment the "Herald" might have seen, if it had been more discerning, that it was a Lincoln saying going up and down the country that was serving as one of the strongest arguments for his renomination, the remark that "it is never best to swap horses in crossing a stream." Lincoln had used it in speaking of the danger of changing Presidents in the middle of the war. He might have written a long message on the value of experience in a national crisis, and it would have been meaningless to the masses; but this homely figure of swapping horses in the middle of the stream appealed to their humor and their common sense. It was repeated over and over in the newspapers of the country. It was in every man's mouth, and was of inestimable value in helping plain people see the danger of changing Presidents while the war was going on.

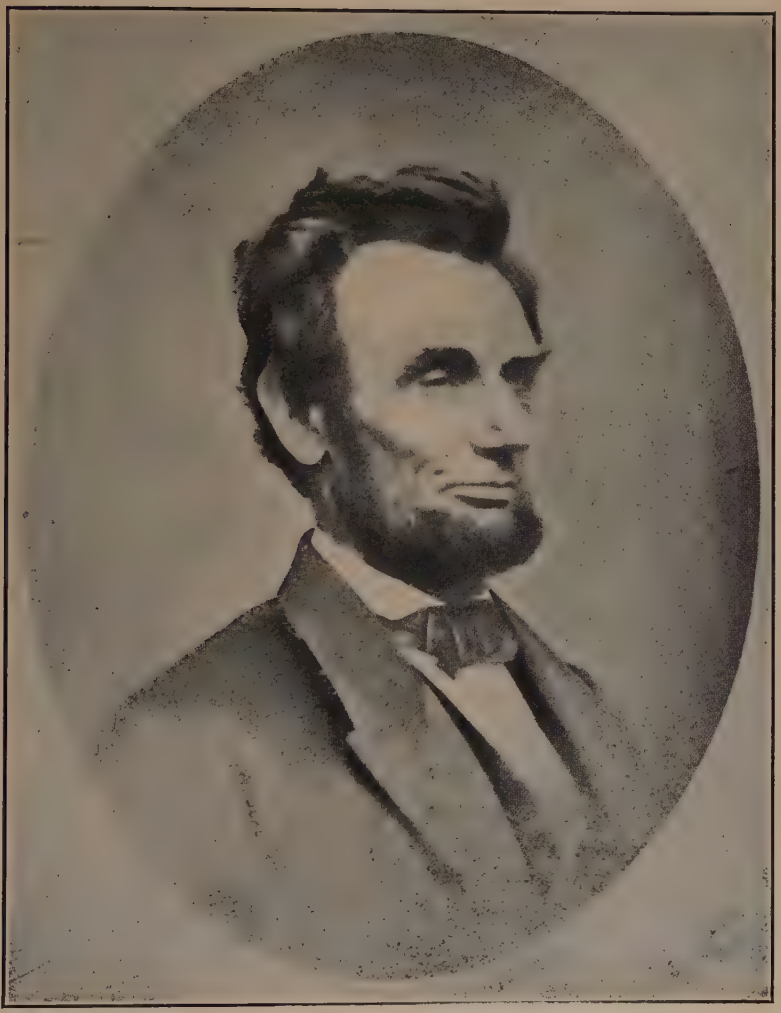
The Union convention was set for June. As the time approached, Lincoln enthusiasm grew. It was fed by Grant's steady beating back of Lee toward Richmond. The country, wild with joy, cried out that before July Grant would be in the Confederate capital and the war would be ended. The opposition to Lincoln that had worked so long steadily dwindled in the face of military success, until all of which it was capable was a small convention in May, in Cleveland, at which Frémont was nominated.

The Union convention met in June. That it would nominate Lincoln was a foregone conclusion. "The

convention has no candidate to choose," said the Philadelphia "Press." "Choice is forbidden it by the previous action of the people." The preliminary work of the convention, seating delegates and framing a platform, was rapidly disposed of. Then on June 8, after a skirmish about the method of nominating the candidates, Illinois presented the name of Abraham Lincoln. A call of states was immediately taken. One after another they answered: Pennsylvania for Lincoln, New York for Lincoln, New England solid for him, Kentucky solid, and so on through the thirty states and territories represented; only one dissenting delegation in the entire thirty: Missouri, whose radical Union representatives gave twenty-two votes for Grant. On the second reading of the vote this ballot was changed, so that the final vote stood 506 for Lincoln.

The President took his renomination calmly. "I do not allow myself to suppose," he said to a delegation from the National Union League which came to congratulate him, "that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it trying to swap."

The renomination of Lincoln had taken place when the country and the Administration were rejoicing in Grant's successes and still prophesying that the war was practically over. The developments of the next few days after the nomination put a new look



LINCOLN IN 1864. AGE 55. HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

on the military situation. Instead of entering Richmond, Grant attacked Petersburg; but before he could capture it the town had been so re-enforced that it was evident nothing but a siege could reduce it. Now the Army of the Potomac in its march from the Rapidan to the James, extending from May 4th to June 24th, had lost nearly 55,000 men. If Petersburg was to be besieged, it was clear that the army must be re-enforced, that there must be another draft. The President had hinted that this was possible only a week after his nomination, in an address in Philadelphia at a sanitary fair:

"If I shall discover," he asked, "that General Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and asssistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march?" Cries of "yes" answered him. "Then I say, stand ready," he replied, "for I am watching for the chance."

A few days later he visited Grant and rode the lines in front of Petersburg. All that he saw, all the events of the following days, only made it clearer to him that there must be another outpouring of men. His friends besought him to try to get on without it. The country was growing daily more discouraged as it realized that its hope of speedy victory was vain. A new draft would arouse opposition, give a new weapon to the Democrats, make his re-election uncertain: he could not afford it. He refused their counsels. "We must lose nothing even if I am defeated," he said. "I am quite willing the people should understand the issue. My re-election will

mean that the rebellion is to be crushed by force of arms." And on July 18, he called for 500,000 volunteers for one, two, and three years.

All the discontent that had been prophesied broke forth on this call. The awful brutality of the war came upon the country as never before. There was a revulsion of feeling against the sacrifice going on, such as had not been experienced since the war began. All the complaints that had been urged against Lincoln both by radical Republicans and by Democrats broke out afresh. The draft was talked of as if it were the arbitrary freak of a tyrant. It was declared that Lincoln had violated constitutional rights, personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the rights of asylum; that, in short, he had been guilty of all the abuses of a military dictator. Much bitter criticism was made of his treatment of peace overtures. It was declared that the Confederates were anxious to make peace, and had taken the first steps, but that Lincoln was so bloodthirsty that he was unwilling to use any means but force. Even Horace Greeley joined now in this criticism, though up to this summer he had stood with the President on the question. In May, 1864, when Senator Dawson proposed in the Senate that the North should "tender the olive branch of peace as an exchange for the sword," the "Tribune" ridiculed the idea and suggested that Mr. Dawson, without waiting for the House to adopt his resolution, should start at once on his private account for the camp of General Lee "with a whole cart-load of olive branches." "Some good may come of it," said

Mr. Greeley; "Mr. Dawson may possibly be treated as a spy."

Later, when peace was proposed in the Confederate Congress, Mr. Greeley said:

"Speaking generally, it is safe to say that if there had been any foundation other than the unconditional surrender of the 'Confederacy,' upon which to build it, we would have had peace long ago. But the quarrel is a mortal one . . . there can be no peace the terms of which are not dictated and enforced by the Congress of the United States."

On June 10, in answer to an attack on the Administration for refusing to allow a Confederate gunboat to bring Stephens to Washington, Greeley said:

"The naked truth lies here: Up to this hour the rebels have never been ready or willing to treat with our government on any other footing than that of independence; and this we have not been inclined to concede. When they (or we) have been beaten into a willingness to concede the vital matter in dispute, negotiations for peace will be in order—and not till then."

In spite of these utterances, however, Mr. Greeley wavered in July, upon receiving from an irresponsible and officious individual known as "Colorado Jewett," a communication stating that two ambassadors of "Davis and Company" were in Canada with full and complete powers for a peace, and requesting Mr. Greeley to come immediately to Niagara. Taking the matter seriously he wrote the President a long and hysterical letter, urging that the offer be accepted, and some one sent to Niagara. Mr. Lincoln

saw his chance to demonstrate to the country the futility of peace negotiations. He replied immediately, appointing Greeley himself as an ambassador to meet the parties.

"If you can find any person anywhere," he wrote, "professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at least have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons."

This was a turn that the editor of the "Tribune" had evidently not expected, but Mr. Lincoln insisted that he carry out the commission, his only conditions being the ones stated above, and he sent him the following paper:

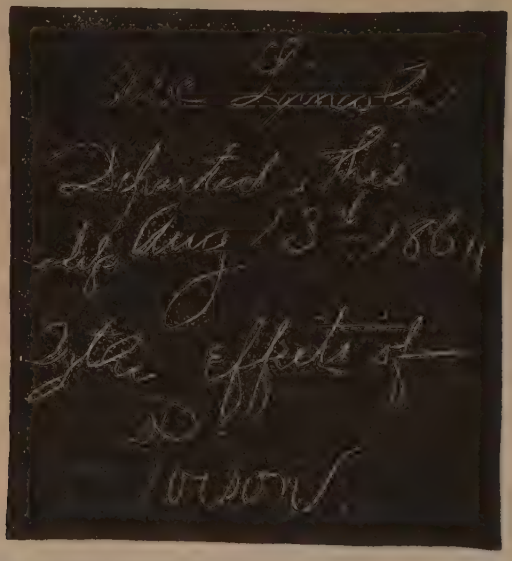
"To Whom It May Concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Mr. Greeley went to Niagara, but as it turned out the persons whom he had taken seriously had no authority whatever from Davis, and they declared that no negotiations for peace were possible if Mr. Lin-

coln's conditions must be conceded. So the conference, which ran over a number of days, and which was enveloped in much mystery, fell through. At the end it got into the newspapers, though only a portion of the correspondence was published at the time. It was evident to people of sense however, that Mr. Greeley had been hoodwinked. It was evident, too, that the President was willing to carry on peace negotiations if those points for which the war had been fought were yielded. All the effectiveness of peace cries after this was gone. Senator Harlan of Iowa, who, with other Republicans, appreciated thoroughly the clever way in which Lincoln had disposed of the editor of the "Tribune," said to him one day on the terrace of the White House: "Some of us think, Mr. Lincoln, that you didn't send a very good ambassador to Niagara." "Well, I'll tell you about that, Harlan," replied the President, "Greeley kept abusing me for not entering into peace negotiations. He said he believed we could have peace if I would do my part and when he began to urge that I send an ambassador to Niagara to meet Confederate emissaries, I just thought I would let him go up and crack that nut for himself."

As July dragged on and August passed there was no break in the gloom. Farragut was threatening Mobile; Sherman, Atlanta; Grant, Petersburg; but all of these three great undertakings seemed to promise nothing but a fruitless slaughter of men. The despair and indignation of the country in this dreadful time all centered on Lincoln. Republicans, hopeless of reëlecting him, talked of replacing him by an-

other candidate. The Democrats argued that the war and all its woes were the direct result of his tyrannical and unconstitutional policy. The more violent intimated that he should be put out of the way. A sign of the bitterness against him little noted at the moment, but sinister in the light of after events, was



LEGEND SCRATCHED ON A WINDOW PANE BY J. WILKES BOOTH, AT MEADVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA, AUGUST, 1864.

an inscription found one August morning written on the window of a room in a Meadville (Pennsylvania) hotel. The room was reported to have been occupied the night before by a favorite actor, J. Wilkes Booth. The inscription ran: "Abe Lincoln Departed this Life Aug. 13th, 1864, By the effects of Poison."

In the dreadful uproar of discontent one cry alarmed Lincoln more than all others; this was the

revival of the demand that Grant be presented for the presidency. It was not so much the fear of defeat by Grant that affected him as it was the dread that the campaign would be neglected if the General went into politics. He concluded that he ought to sound Grant again. Colonel John Eaton (afterwards General), a friend of Grant, was in Washington at the time and often with Mr. Lincoln. Referring to the efforts making to nominate Grant, Lincoln asked if the Colonel knew what the General thought of the attempt. No, the Colonel said, he didn't.

"Well," said Lincoln, "if Grant is the great general we think he is, he must have some consciousness of it and know that he cannot be satisfied with himself and secure the credit due for his great generalship if he does not finish the job." And he added, "I don't believe they can get him to run."

The President then asked the Colonel if he could not go to Grant and find out for him how the General felt. Colonel Eaton started at once on his errand. Reaching headquarters and being received by the General, he worked his way to the subject by recounting how he had met persons recently in travelling who had asked him if he thought Grant could be induced to run against Lincoln, not as a partisan, but as a citizen's candidate, to save the Union. Grant brought his hand down emphatically on the strap arm of his camp-chair. "They can't do it! They can't compel me to do it!"

"Have you said this to the President?" asked Colonel Eaton.

"No," said Grant, "I have not thought it worth while to assure the President of my opinion. I consider it as important for the cause that he should be elected as that the army should be successful in the field."

Lincoln's friends took the situation at this period more seriously than he. Their alarm is graphically pictured in the following letter from Leonard Swett to his wife. It was probably written toward the end of August:

ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK,
Monday, , 1864.

"*My Dear Wife:* The fearful things in relation to the country have induced me to stay a week here. I go to Washington to-night, and can't see how I can get away from there before the last of the week.

"A summary of movements is as follows:

"The malicious foes of Lincoln are calling or getting up a Buffalo convention to supplant him. They are Sumner, Wade, Henry Winter Davis, Chase, Frémont, Wilson, etc.

"The Democrats are conspiring to resist the draft. We seized this morning three thousand pistols going to Indiana for distribution. The war Democrats are trying to make the Chicago nominee a loyal man. The peace Democrats are trying to get control of the Government and, through alliance with Jefferson Davis, to get control of both armies and make universal revolution necessary.

"The most fearful things are probable.

"I am acting with Thurlow Weed, Raymond, etc., to try to avert. There is not much hope.

"Unless material changes can be wrought, Lincoln's election is beyond any possible hope. It is probably clean gone now." *

* Letter loaned by Mr. Leonard Herbert Swett, of Aurora, Ill.

Lincoln himself had made up his mind that he would be defeated. What would be his duty then? It was so clear to him that he wrote it down on a slip of paper:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *August* 23, 1864.

"This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

"A. LINCOLN." *

He folded the slip and, when the Cabinet met, he asked the members to put their names on the back. What was inside he did not tell them. In the incessant buffeting of his life he had learned that the highest moral experience of which a man is capable is standing clear before his own conscience. He laid the paper away, a compact with his conscience in case of defeat.

The Democrats had deferred their national convention as long as possible, hoping for a military situation which would enable them to win the people. They could not have had a situation more favorable to their plans. But they miscalculated in one vital particular. They took the despair of the country as a sign that peace would be welcome even at the cost of the Union, and they adopted a peace platform. They nominated on this platform a candidate vowed

* "Abraham Lincoln; A History." By Nicolay and Hay.

to war and to the Union, General McClellan. So unpopular was the combination that General McClellan, in accepting the nomination, practically repudiated the platform.

But at this moment something further interfered to save the Administration. Sherman captured Atlanta, and Farragut took Mobile Bay. "Sherman and Farragut," said Seward, "have knocked the bottom out of the Chicago nominations." If they had not quite done that, they had at least given heart to Lincoln's supporters, who went to work with a will to secure his re-election. The following letter by Leonard Swett shows something of what was done:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *September* 8, 1864.

"*My Dear Wife:* There has never been an instance in which Providence had kindly interposed in our behalf in our national struggles in so marked and essential manner as in the recent Union victories.

"You know I had become very fearful before leaving home. When I arrived in New York, I found the most alarming depression possessing the minds of all the Republicans, Greeley, Beecher, Raymond, Weed; and all the small politicians without exception utterly gave up in despair. Raymond, the chairman of the National Committee, not only gave up, but would do nothing. Nobody would do anything. There was not a man doing anything except mischief.

"A movement was organizing to make Mr. Lincoln withdraw or call a convention and supplant him.

"I felt it my duty to see if some action could not be inaugurated. I got Raymond, after great labor, to call the committee at Washington three days after I would arrive here, and came first to see if Mr. Lincoln understood his

danger and would help to set things in motion. He understood fully the danger of his position, and for once seemed anxious I should try to stem the tide bearing him down. When the committee met, they showed entire want of organization and had not a dollar of money.

"Maine was calling for speakers. Two men were obtained, and I had to advance them a hundred dollars each to go.

"The first gleam of hope was in the Chicago convention. The evident depression of the public caused the peace men to control that convention, and then, just as the public began to shrink from accepting it, God gave us the victory at Atlanta, which made the ship right itself, as a ship in a storm does after a great wave has nearly capsized it.

"Washburne, of Illinois, a man of great force, came, and he and I have been working incessantly. I have raised and provided one hundred thousand dollars for the canvass.

"Don't think this is for improper purposes. It is not. Speakers have to be paid. Documents have to be sent, and innumerable expenses have to be incurred.

"The Secessionists are flooding the Northwest with money. Voorhees and Vallandigham are arming the people there, and are trying to make the draft an occasion for an uprising. We are in the midst of conspiracies equal to the French Revolution.

"I have felt it my solemn duty under these circumstances to stay here. I have been actuated by no other motive than that of trying to save our country from further dismemberment and war. People from the West, and our best people, say if we fail now the West will surely break off and go with the South. Of course that would be resisted, and the resistance would bring war." *

All through September and October the preparation for the November election continued. The loyal governors of the North, men to whom the Union

* Letter loaned by Mr. Herbert Leonard Swett of Aurora, Ill.

cause owed much more than has ever been fully realized, worked incessantly. The great orators of the Republican Party were set at work, Carl Schurz even giving up his opportunity in the army to take the platform, and many an officer and private who had influence in their communities going home on furloughs to aid in electioneering. The most elaborate preparations were made for getting the vote of every man, most of the states allowing the soldiers to vote in the field. Where this was not arranged for, the War Department did its utmost to secure furloughs for the men. Even convalescents from the hospitals were sent home to vote.

In this great burst of determined effort Lincoln took little part. The country understood, he believed, exactly what his election meant. It meant the preservation of the Union by force. It meant that he would draft men so long as he needed them; that he would suspend the writ of habeas corpus, and employ a military tribunal whenever he deemed it necessary. It meant, too, that he would do his utmost to secure an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery forever, for the platform the Union convention had adopted before nominating him contained that plank. He could not be persuaded by the cautious and timid to modify or obscure this policy. He wanted the people to understand exactly what he intended, he said, and whenever he did speak or write, it was only to reiterate his principles in his peculiarly plain, unmistakable language. Nor would he allow any interference with the surffage of men in office. They must vote as they pleased. "My wish

is," he wrote to the postmaster of Philadelphia, who had been accused of trying to control the votes of his subordinates, "that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his."

Thus when the election finally came off, on November 8, there was not a man of any intelligence in the country who did not know exactly what he was voting for, if he voted for Lincoln. What these men thought of him the work of that day showed. Out of 233 electoral votes, General McClellan received 21, 212 being for Lincoln. The opportunity to finish the task was now his.

CHAPTER XXIX

LINCOLN'S WORK IN THE WINTER OF 1864-5—HIS SECOND INAUGURATION

OUT of the election Lincoln got profound satisfaction. He had striven to his utmost to let the people know what he was trying to do—this overwhelming vote for him coming after the dire discouragement of the summer, proved that they understood him and were with him. "I am deeply thankful to God for this approval of the people," he told a band of serenaders. But there was something beside personal triumph in his reflections on the elections. Since the beginning of the war Lincoln had repeatedly told the people that republican institutions were at stake. In his first address to Congress, July 4, 1861, he said: "Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it."

Three years of internal war had not been able to unseat the government. But what would be the effect of a presidential election added to war? The warmest friends of republican institutions feared that the strain would be too great.

"It has long been a grave question," said Lincoln a few days after the election, "whether any government, not too

strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

"If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. . . . But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

Another fact vital to Mr. Lincoln's policy was proved by the election. The North was far from exhaustion in "the most important branch of national resources—that of living men."

"While it is melancholy to reflect," the President said in his December address to Congress, "that the war had filled so many graves and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to knew that compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps, and divisions, and brigades, and regiments have formed, and fought, and dwindled, and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The states regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago . . . cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then; showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and

Nevada, which states did not vote in 1860; thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773, and the net increase during the three years and a half of war, to 145,551. . . . To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those states could not vote away from their homes, and which number cannot be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively by the election.

"It is not material to inquire how the increase has been produced, or to show that it would have been greater but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have more men now than we had when the war began; that we are not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion; that we are gaining strength, and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever."

Approved by the people, convinced that the institutions of the country had successfully resisted the worst strain which could be given them, inexhaustible resources at his command, Lincoln took up his task. To put an end to the armed resistance to the Union was the first duty. This had got to be done by war, not by negotiation. He put it plainly to Congress in December:

"On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this

effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily re-accept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war."

By this time the boundaries of the Confederacy had been so narrowed, their territory so divided by invading armies that it seemed to all observers that they must soon yield. The Mississippi was open and the territory on each side practically under Federal control. Louisiana was under military government. Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee were so cleared of troops that they had produced fair crops. Three ports, Norfolk, Fernandina and Pensacola, were opened on December 1 to commercial intercourse excepting of course "persons, things and information contraband of war." Grant held Lee and the bulk of the Confederate army at Richmond. Sherman who had taken Atlanta in August had marched three hundred miles directly through the Confederate country destroying everything as he went. Nobody knew just then where he would come out, but it was certain he could be counted on to hold the Confederate force under Johnston in check. Besides the armies under Lee and Johnston there were other smaller forces holding positions, but it was evident that if Lee and Johnston were defeated, the surrender of these smaller forces was inevitable. The Confederate navy, too, had been destroyed by this time. The task

seemed short, yet such was the courage, the resourcefulness, the audacity in attack and defense which the Confederates had shown from the beginning of the war that Mr. Lincoln was the last man in the North to relax efforts. Although he had an army of nearly a million men enrolled at the time of his re-election, on December 19, he called for 300,000 volunteers to serve for one, two or three years.

A week after this call Sherman "came out" and presented the country Savannah as a Christmas gift. The letter Lincoln wrote him is worthy to be placed beside the one he wrote to Grant after Vicksburg:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *December* 26, 1864.

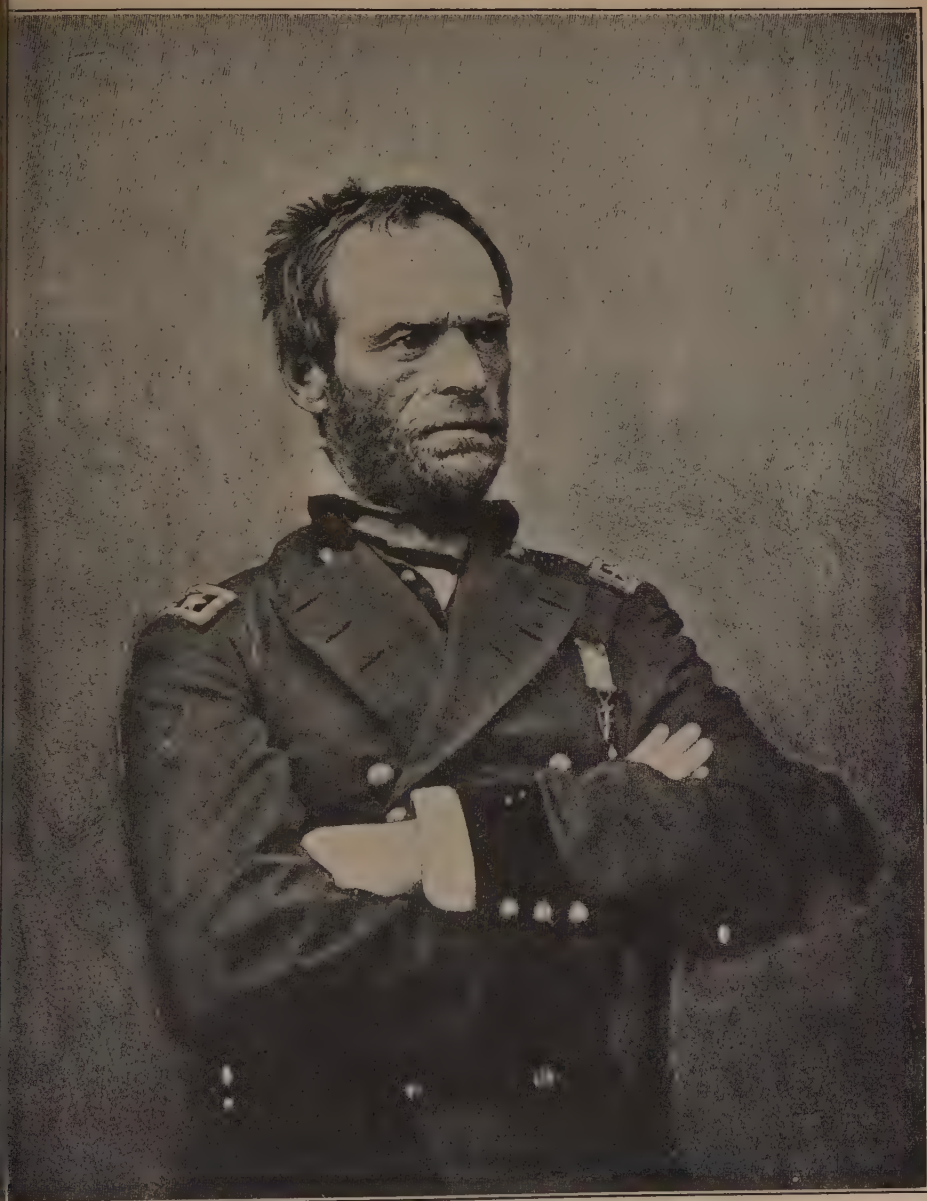
"MY DEAR GENERAL SHERMAN:

"Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

"When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge and remembering that 'nothing risked, nothing gained,' I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

"And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

"I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.



WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN ENTERED THE UNION ARMY AS COLONEL IN 1861. SERVED THROUGH THE WAR. SUCCEEDED GRANT AS COMMANDER OF THE ARMY IN 1869.

BORN, 1820; DIED, 1891.

"Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

"Yours very truly,

"A. Lincoln."

Although the great majority of the country agreed with Mr. Lincoln that the issue between North and South "could only be tried by war and decided by victory," advocates of peace conferences still nagged the President, begging that if they were allowed to go South or if commissioners from the South were allowed to come North everything could be adjusted. Among these peace-makers was Francis P. Blair, Sr. He knew the South well, he believed honestly enough, no doubt, that mediation would be successful. Finally at the end of December the president gave him a pass through the lines. Blair saw President Davis and from him received a letter saying that if Blair would promise that a Confederate commissioner, minister or other agent would be received by President Lincoln he would appoint one at once "with a view to secure peace to the two countries."

Mr. Lincoln answered:

"You having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country."

It is evident from the letters of the two leaders that neither yielded on the essential point at issue.

Jefferson Davis recognized "two countries," Abraham Lincoln "one common country." The upshot of Mr. Blair's mediation was that President Davis sent three commissioners, Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and John A. Campbell, all members of the Confederate government, to Grant's headquarters for conference. Lincoln sent Seward to meet the commissioners with instructions that three things were indispensable to mediation:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the states.
2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.
3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

Before Seward had met the commission Lincoln decided to join him and a meeting was arranged at Fortress Monroe, the Confederate envoys being conducted to the steamer *River Queen* where Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were quartered.

The meeting of the men, all of them acquaintances in earlier days, was cordial and they began and ended their conference in an entirely friendly mood. But from the outset it was evident that nothing would come of it. There was but one way to end the war, Mr. Lincoln told them frankly, and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease their resistance. He would grant no armistice—would in no way recognize the states—so long as

they were in arms. He would make no promises as to reconstruction after the war had ceased until they had given him a pledge of reunion and of cessation of resistance. Mr. Hunter attempted to argue this point with him. There was precedent, he said, for an executive entering into agreement with persons in arms against public authority. Charles I. of England repeatedly recognized the people in arms against him in this way. "I do not profess to be posted in history," replied Mr. Lincoln. "On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles is that he lost his head."

But while Lincoln held firmly to what he regarded as the essentials to peace, he did not hesitate to give the commissioners some very good advice.

"If I resided in Georgia, with my present sentiments," Mr. Stephens reports him as saying, "I'll tell you what I would do if I were in your place. I would go home and get the Governor of the state to call the legislature together, and get them to recall all the state troops from the war; elect senators and members to Congress, and ratify this constitutional amendment prospectively, so as to take effect—say in five years. Such a ratification would be valid, in my opinion. I have looked into the subject, and think such a prospective ratification would be valid. Whatever may have been the views of your people before the war, they must be convinced now that slavery is doomed. It cannot last long in any event, and the best course, it seems to me, for your public men to pursue would be to adopt such a policy as will avoid, as far as possible, the evils of immediate emancipation. This would be my course, if I were in your place."

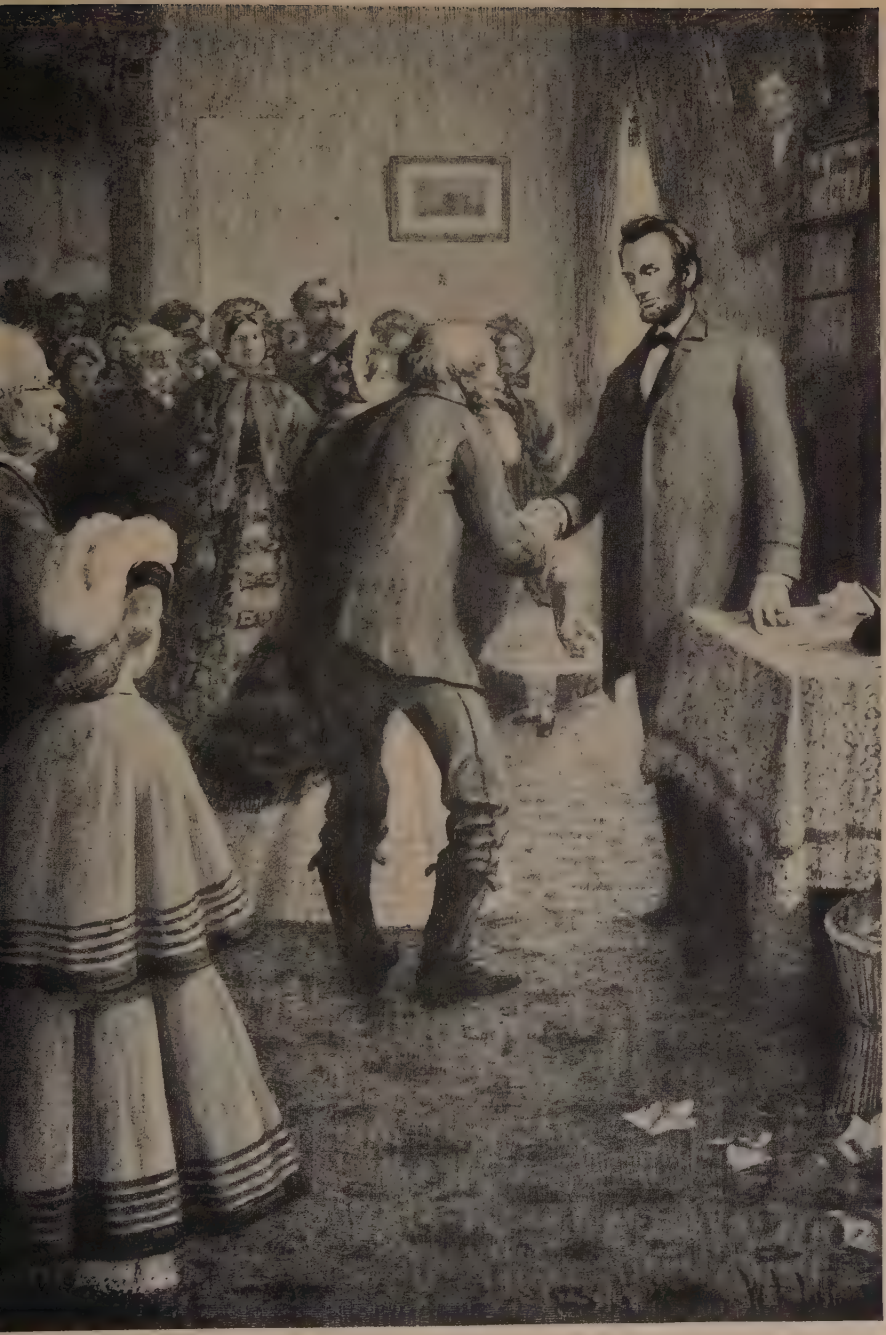
And so the Hampton Roads conference ended without other result than a renewed confirmation of

what Lincoln had contended from the beginning of the agitation for peace measures—that the South would never grant until defeated what he claimed as vital to any negotiation—a recognition of the Union.

It was understood by the country that Mr. Lincoln's re-election meant not only a continuation of the war but the emancipation of the slaves by a constitutional amendment. The Emancipation Proclamation was never intended by the president for anything but a military measure. He had been careful to state this in delivering it and, when called upon to retract it by a large body of the North because it turned the war into a contest to "free negroes," he had gone to great pains to explain his view. Thus in a letter written in August '63 to his political friends in Illinois, he said:

"You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

"But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is



PRESIDENT LINCOLN RECEIVING VISITORS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue. There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican Party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

"I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes

can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just as much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept."

Mr. Lincoln believed that as soon as the war was over the proclamation would become void. Voters would have to decide then what slaves it freed—whether only those who had under it made an effort for their freedom and had come into the Union lines or all of those in the states and parts of states in rebellion at the time it was issued. Mr. Lincoln inclined to the former view. But even if the latter interpretation was decided on, there would still be many slaves in the country—the institution if weakened would still exist. It became plainer every day to him that some measure must be devised removing finally and forever the evil root from which the nation's long and sorrowful struggle had grown. Slavery must end with the war. The only complete and irrevocable method to attain this was a constitutional amendment abolishing it forever. In December, 1863, an amendment of this character had been proposed in the House and in the January after a similar one in the Senate. The latter passed, but the House failed to give the requisite two-thirds majority. Mr. Lincoln was convinced nevertheless that the people if asked directly to vote on the subject would approve the amendment and before the meeting of the Republican Convention in June, '64, he sent for the

chairman of the National Committee, Senator Morgan of New York. "I want you," he said, "to mention in your speech, when you call the convention to order, as its keynote and to put into the platform as the keystone, the amendment of the Constitution abolishing and prohibiting slavery forever." It was done, the third article of the platform reading:

"*Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States."

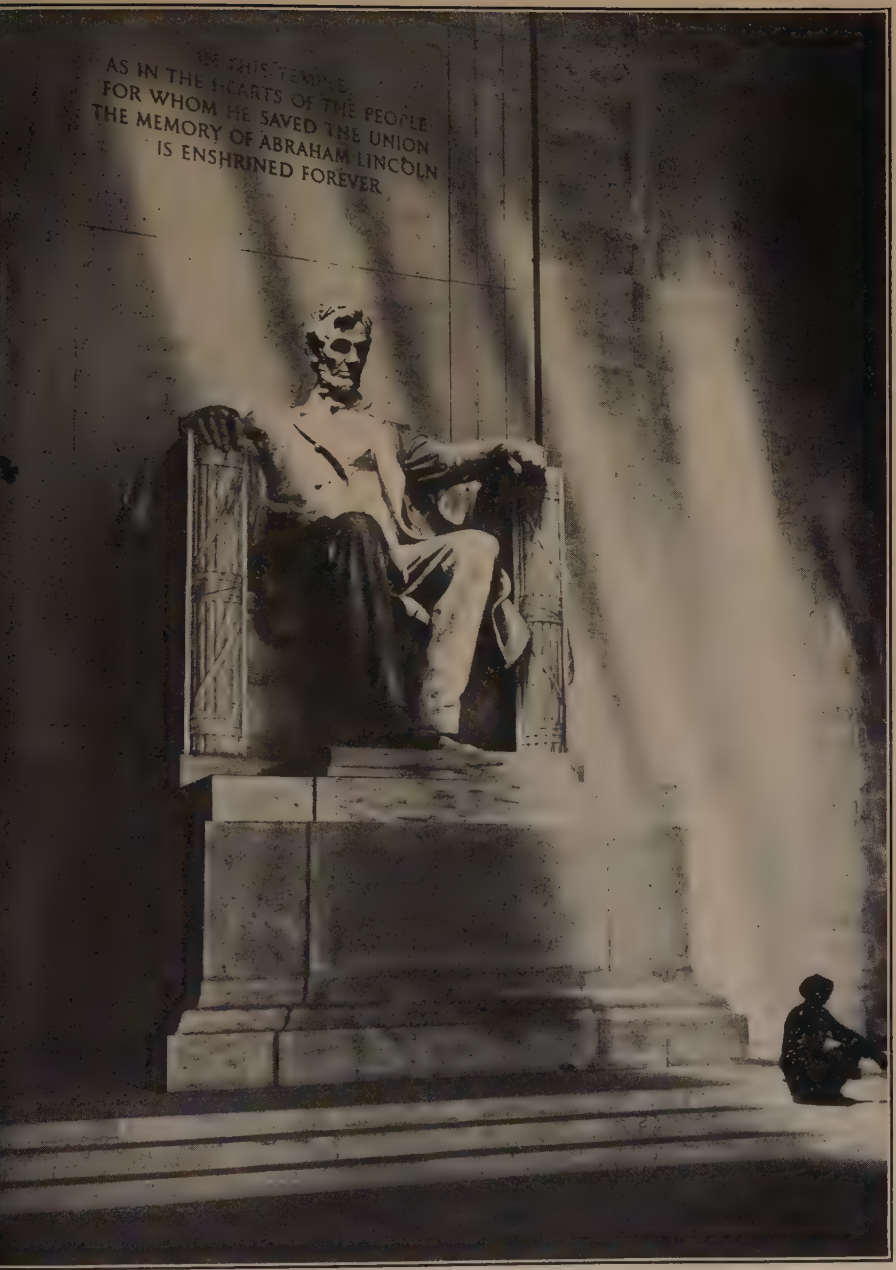
When in December '64 Lincoln addressed Congress for the first time after his election he reminded them that the people in electing him had voted for an amendment prohibiting slavery:

"Although the present is the same Congress" (which defeated the bill of Dec., '63) he said, "and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconstruction and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed, but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the states for their action. And as it

is to so go, at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is almost clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment."

After the bill was introduced he followed its course with greatest care, working adroitly and constantly in its interests. Its passage on January 31 was a genuine satisfaction to him. "This finishes the job," he said joyfully. That night he spoke to a band of serenaders, and the newspapers of the day report him as saying that:

"He thought the measure was a very fitting, if not an indispensable, adjunct to the winding up of the great difficulty. He wished the reunion of all the states perfected, and so effected as to remove all causes of disturbance in the future; and, to attain this end, it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery, by issuing an emancipation proclamation. But that proclamation fell short of what the amendment would be when fully consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged that it only aided those that came into our lines, and that it was



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Statue by Daniel C. French.

In the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C.

inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of slaves born hereafter; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all evils. It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was the fitting, if not the indispensable, adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing. He could not but congratulate all present—himself, the country, and the whole world—upon this great moral victory."

The third matter which engrossed Lincoln after his election was reconstruction. From the very beginning of the war he had watched for opportunities, however small, to bring back into the Union disaffected districts and individuals. He was not particular about the way in which the wanderer returned. It was enough in Mr. Lincoln's opinion if he acknowledged the Union. Portions of Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana were put under military rule in the first six months of 1862 in order to encourage Union sympathizers to keep up a semblance of republican government and whenever the President had a chance he encouraged the loyal in these states to get together so as to form a nucleus for action when the opportunity offered.

By the end of 1863 Mr. Lincoln believed that the time had come for him publicly to offer protection and pardon to those persons and districts which had been in rebellion, but which had had enough of the experience and were ready to come back. He believed from what he could learn that there was a considerable number of these. Accordingly in December in sending in his annual message to Congress he issued a "proclamation of amnesty and reconstruction." This

proclamation offered pardon to all save the persons who had led the rebellion upon their taking an oath to support the Constitution and accept the Emancipation Proclamation. It also promised to protect any state government formed in accordance with a few simple and just regulations which he set forth very clearly. A few weeks after the proclamation was issued, the President, anxious to know how it was working, sent General D. E. Sickles on an inspection tour.

"Please ascertain at each place," he wrote him, "what is being done, if anything, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines."

As the months went on Lincoln found that in spite of the fact that efforts at forming governments were making and that the pardon was being accepted by many persons there was strong and bitter opposition even in the Republican Party to his plans of reconstruction. No little of this opposition was resentment that the President had worked out the plan alone and had announced it without consulting anybody. Congress said that he was usurping its rights. Many felt that the pardon Lincoln offered was too generous. Rebels should be punished, not pardoned, they argued. Many declared the states which had seceded could not be allowed to reorganize without congressional

action. At the same time the President was constantly harassed by contests between the military and civil authorities in the states which were trying to organize. These contests seemed so unreasonable and so selfish to Mr. Lincoln that he wrote some very plain letters to the persons concerned.

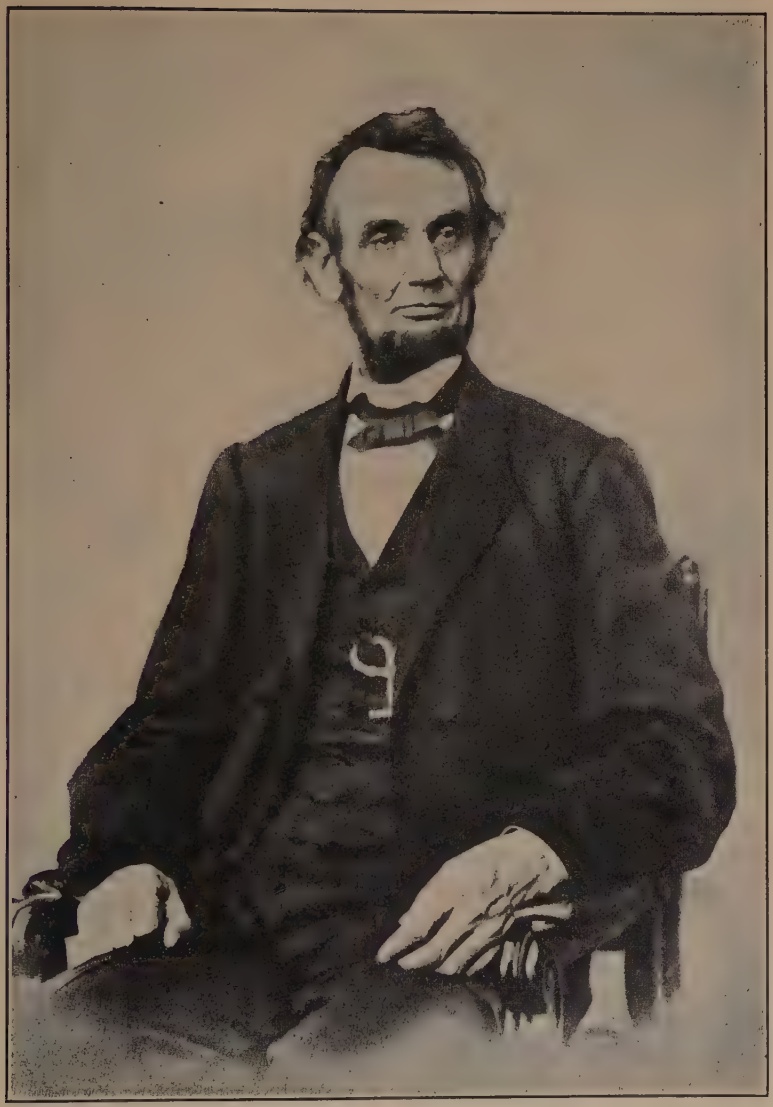
"Few things since I have been here," he wrote General Hurlbut in November, "have impressed me more painfully than what for four or five months past has appeared a bitter military opposition to the new state government of Louisiana. . . . A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new state government, making an excellent new Constitution—better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection, directed by me, in the belief, still sincerely entertained, that with such a nucleus around which to build we could get the state into position again sooner than otherwise. In this belief a general promise of protection and support, applicable alike to Louisiana and other states, was given in the last annual message. During the formation of the new government and Constitution they were supported by nearly every loyal person, and opposed by every secessionist. And this support and this opposition, from the respective standpoints of the parties, was perfectly consistent and logical. Every Unionist ought to wish the new government to succeed; and every disunionist must desire it to fail. Its failure would gladden the heart of Slidell in Europe, and of every enemy of the old flag in the world. Every advocate of slavery naturally desires to see blasted and crushed the liberty promised the black man by the new Constitution. But why General Canby and General Hurlbut should join on the same side is to me incomprehensible. . . ."

After his reëlection, in spite of all opposition, Lincoln steadily supported the new state governments.

His practical common sense in dealing with a difficult problem never showed to better advantage than in the plan of reconstruction he had offered and was trying. It was not the only plan he kept repeating, but it was accomplishing something—was not this something better than nothing? If it proved bad he would change it for a better one, if a better was offered, but until it was shown that it was adverse to the interests of the people he was trying to bring back into the Union he should follow it. As for the abstract question over which a great part of the North was quarrelling, whether the seceded states were in the Union or out of it, he would not consider it. It was "bad as the basis of a controversy" he declared and "good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction."

"We all agree," he continued, "that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states is to again get them into the proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these states have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these states and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the states from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it."

As the winter passed into the spring the President saw every day that the end was approaching and as



LINCOLN IN 1864. AGE 55.

From photograph by Brady, in the War Department Collection.

he realized that at last the mighty problem over which he had agonized for so many months was unfolding, as he saw not only that the primary object for which he had been struggling—the Union—was to be attained but that even before this end was attained the evil which had caused all the trouble was to be eradicated, he experienced a lofty exaltation, a fresh realization that the will of God prevails in human affairs. From the time of his election he had been animated by a simple theory:—if we do right, God will be with us and if God is with us we cannot fail. He had struggled to see what was right and no man or men had been able to bring to bear pressure heavy enough to turn him from a step he had concluded was right. Yet as the days went on he saw his cause fail again and again. Many times it seemed on the verge of destruction. He pondered deeply over this seeming contradiction. Was he wrong in his own judgment of what was right or could it be that God had some end in view different from either that of the North or South? Late in 1862, evidently to help clear up his mind, he wrote down on a slip of paper a statement of the puzzling problem. His secretaries later found it and published it in their history.

"The will of God prevails. In great contrast each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect his purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills

that it shall not end yet. By his mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, he could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds."

As time went on and, in spite of the reverses he suffered, his conviction that his cause was right grew stronger, he began to feel that God's purpose was to wipe out slavery and that the war was a divine retribution on North as well as South for the toleration of slavery. In a letter written in April, 1864, he expressed this view:

" . . . At the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

By the spring of 1865 this explanation of the continuation of the war fully possessed him and in his inaugural he laid it before the people in a few solemn, beautiful sentences—a prophet's cry to a nation bidding them to complete the task the Lord God Almighty had set before them and to expiate in humility their sins.

" . . . The Almighty has his own purposes," he said. " 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God,

must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

It was in this lofty spirit that Abraham Lincoln entered on his second term. Every act of the few days of that term which he served was in full harmony with the words of his inaugural. Although the criticism on him for pardoning prisoners of war was at that time very bitter, even General Grant protesting against his broad exercise of the pardoning power, he could be persuaded easily to set free any man or men for whom an honest official would vouch. Hon. John B. Henderson, then in the United States Senate from Missouri, related for this work his experience in securing pardons from Lincoln in the spring of 1865.

"From 1862 to 1865," says Mr. Henderson, "the conditions were such in Missouri, that every man was obliged to espouse actively either the Union or the Confederate cause. No man really was safe out of one army or another. Property was insecure, and if a person attempted to remain neutral he was suspected by both Confederates and Federals, and was liable to be arrested by either side, and his property destroyed. During the progress of the war a large number of Missourians had been arrested by the Federals and were confined in the military prisons, many of them at St. Louis where the McDowell Medical College had been taken and used for the purpose, and some at Alton, Illinois, about twenty-five miles above St. Louis on the river. The friends and relations of many of these military prisoners appealed to me to secure their release, or to save them from whatever sentence had been pronounced. These sentences, of course, varied. In flagrant cases where they were convicting of acting as spies, or of prosecuting guerilla warfare, the death sentence was sometimes ordered but not often inflicted. Others were condemned to prison for life or during the war. Few of the death sentences were ever inflicted. There was a tacit understanding among the military authorities that while a show of severity be kept up it was only under extreme circumstances that a prisoner should be executed. Towards the close of the winter of 1864-65, I found that I had a large number of these applications for clemency and pardon on hand.

"Congress adjourned on March 4, 1865, and Mr. Lincoln on that day was inaugurated for a second term. An extra session of the Senate only was called immediately to act on presidential nominations, but it continued in session until about the 18th of March. I was anxious to clear up as many as possible of these imprisonment cases before leaving for home. I accordingly had my clerk classify them, according to the evidence in each case, giving the name of the prisoner, the character of his offense, together with a statement of the proofs or evidence against him. I caused them

to be divided into three classes. Into the first class I put those of whose innocence I had but little doubt; into the second class those whose innocence was more doubtful, but whom I believed it would be safe and proper, under the circumstances, to release; the third class consisted of those who ought still to be retained in confinement. As I had very little time before leaving for the West, I took the first and second classes to the President and asked their pardon and release.

"Mr. Lincoln looked over the list and then said: 'Do you mean to tell me, Henderson, that you wish me to let loose all these people at once?'

" 'Yes,' I said, 'I believe it can be easily done.'

" 'But,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'I have no time to examine the evidence. I am constantly reproached for my too abundant charity, and what would be said if I should turn loose so many sinners at once. And again what would be the influence in Missouri?'

" 'I believe, Mr. President,' I said, 'that the influence would be most beneficial. The war is nearly over. The day for generosity and kindness has come.'

" 'Do you really think so?' said the President.

" 'Yes, the rebellion is broken; the rebels will soon be returning to their homes if permitted to do so. What I especially wish is to prevent in my state a prolonged guerilla warfare. The rebels are already conquered in war. Let us try charity and kindness rather than repression and severity. The policy of mercy will prove to be a wise reconstruction measure.'

" 'I hope you are right,' said the President; 'but I have no time to examine this evidence. If I sign this list as a whole, will you be responsible for the future good behavior of the men?'

" 'Yes,' I said.

" 'Then I will take the risk and sign it,' said the President. And after inserting, in his own handwriting, the word 'pardoned' after the name of each person who had been

convicted of offenses by military commission, he signed the general order of release, and returned the paper to me.

" 'Thank you, Mr. President; but that is not all; I have another list here.'

" 'I hope you are not going to make me let loose another lot?'

" 'Yes. I am not quite so sure of the merits of this list, but I believe the men are not dangerous, and it will be good policy to let them go. I think it safer and better to err on the side of mercy.'

" 'Yes,' said Mr. Lincoln; 'but you know I am charged with making too many mistakes on the side of mercy.'

" 'Mr. President, my argument for this is the same as in the other case. The war is substantially over. The guilt of these men is at least doubtful. And mercy is and must be after all the policy of peace.'

" 'I guess you are right,' said Mr. Lincoln.

" 'Yes,' I said, 'I am sure I am, and I think that you ought to sign it.'

" 'Well, I'll be durned if I don't,' said the President, and he signed his name after inserting the word 'pardoned' over the name of those laboring under conviction.

"This was the only time that I ever heard Mr. Lincoln use a word which approached profanity.

" 'Now, Henderson,' he said, as he handed the list back to me, 'remember you are responsible to me for these men. If they do not behave, I shall have to put you in prison for their sins.' "

A few days after this interview with Mr. Henderson the President decided to take a holiday—the first he had taken since he entered the White House in 1861. Boarding a river steamer with a few friends, he went to City Point on the James River, where General Grant had his headquarters. Here he could not possibly be reached by the office-seekers incident

to a new term and here, too, he would be near the operations which he felt would soon end the war.

Grant's headquarters at this time were in a group of cottages on a high bluff at the juncture of the Appomattox and James Rivers. It was a point which commanded a view of a wide and active scene, including many places made historic by the operations of the four years just past. To the north were the flats of Bermuda Hundred, with the conspicuous look-out tower, with tents and barracks and wharves; beyond the wooded slopes of Malvern Hill. Looking eastward across the great bay which the confluence of the two rivers makes here could be seen Harrison's Landing. On every side wharves ran out from the shore. Here night and day steamers, transports, gunboats were coming and going, unloading men and supplies, carrying away wounded and prisoners. The President's little steamer anchored at the foot of the bluff and here he lived for some ten days. It had been intended that on the day of his arrival at City Point, March 25, the President should review a portion of the troops on the Petersburg line, but that morning the final struggle between besieged and besiegers was begun by the unexpected attack of the Confederates on Fort Stedman. A terrific battle followed and the review was deferred. Comparative quite followed this attack for some five days and in this interim Lincoln several times visited the lines behind Petersburg with Grant to review the troops and watch the operations, and he spent considerable time sailing up and down the river with Admiral Porter on his flag-ship.

Two days after the President reached City Point Sherman, whose army had since the fall of Atlanta, marched to the sea and as far northward as Goldsboro, North Carolina, and was now expecting soon to meet the Confederate army under Johnston, came to City Point to confer with Grant and Lincoln. Both generals agreed that their work was nearly over, but each thought he must fight another great battle. The President urged them to avoid this if possible. "No more bloodshed," was his repeated counsel.

Grant's final movements began on March 31. Lincoln at City Point sat all day in the telegraph office at headquarters as at critical moments he did in Washington, receiving reports from Grant and sending them on to Stanton. It was he who first informed the War Department of Sheridan's success at Five Points on April 1. It was he who on the morning of April 3 wired the Secretary of War that at last Petersburg was evacuated and Richmond said to be. A few hours later he went at Grant's request to Petersburg for a last interview with the general before he followed his army which was now moving after the retreating Confederate army. The city had suffered terribly from the long siege, many of its houses being destroyed and all being more or less riddled by shot and shell. Even to-day a visitor to Petersburg is shown house after house where great cannon balls are embedded in the walls. As Lincoln rode through the streets, busy as he was with the stupendous event he had so long desired, he noticed the destruction with a sorry shake of his head. The talk with Grant was held on the porch of a comfort-

able house still standing, and then the two parted, Grant to go to Appomattox, Lincoln to City Point.

The news of the abandonment of Richmond on April 2 had by this time reached City Point. Lincoln's first exclamation on receiving the news was "I want to see Richmond." A party was at once arranged and on the morning of April 4 he started up the river. The trip must have been full of exciting interest to the President, leading, as it did, by a score of places which had been made forever famous by the struggles of war which he knew now to be over—Malvern Hill, Deep Bottom, Dutch Gap, Varina! It was full of real danger, too, for there was no way of knowing positively that the stream was free from torpedoes or the banks entirely cleared of the enemy. The entrance into Richmond was even more dangerous. Here was the President of the United States with four companions and a guard of only ten marines entering on foot a city which for four years he had been doing his utmost to capture by force. That city was in a condition of the wildest confusion. The army and government had abandoned it. Fire had destroyed a large part of it and was still raging. The Federals who had entered the day before had not as yet established any effective patrol. A hostile people filled the streets and hung from the windows. And yet through this chaos of misery, disorganization, and defeat Abraham Lincoln walked in safety. More, as it was noised abroad that he had come, his passage became a triumph. The negroes full of superstitious veneration for the name of Lincoln flocked about him weeping. "Bres de Lord," cried

one, "dere is de great Messiah!" and, throwing himself on his knees, he kissed the President's feet. It was only after a long struggle that the guard was able to conduct Mr. Lincoln from this tumultuous rejoicing crowd and bring him safe to the house of Jefferson Davis—now the headquarters of the Federal troops.

The President remained two days in Richmond carefully going over the situation and discussing the best means of restoring Union authority and of dealing with the individuals who had been in insurrection. He was emphatic in his opinion that the terms must be liberal. "Get them to plowing once; to gathering in their own little crops, eating popcorn at their own firesides," he said in Admiral Porter's presence, "and you can't get them to shoulder a musket again for half a century." Being cheered at City Point the day after he left Richmond by a crowd of Confederate prisoners, he said again to Admiral Porter: "They will never shoulder a musket again in anger, and if Grant is wise he will leave them their guns to shoot crows with and their horses to plow with; it would do no harm." As to the people of Richmond his one counsel to the military governor was to "let them down easy." Nor would he while there listen to a word of harshness in the treatment of even the leaders of the rebellion. One day when visiting Libby Prison, a member of the party remarked to him that Jefferson Davis ought to be hung. "Judge not that ye be not judged," Charles Sumner heard him quote. No bitterness was in his soul, only a great thankfulness that

the end seemed so near and a firm determination to regulate with mercy all questions of reconstruction.

Returning to City Point, Mr. Lincoln learned that Mr. Seward had been thrown from a carriage and injured and he resolved to go at once to Washington. He had only just reached there when he received word that on April 9 General Lee had surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomattox. This could mean but one thing, the war was over. No force was now left to the enemy which must not surrender on hearing that the principal Confederate force had laid down its arms. Immediately the President and his associates began the glad task of shutting down the vast war machinery in operation—the first act being to issue an order suspending the draft.

CHAPTER XXX

THE END OF THE WAR

"The war is over!" Throughout the breadth of the North this was the jubilant cry with which people greeted one another on the morning of April 14, 1865. For ten days reports of victories had been coming to them; Petersburg evacuated, Richmond fallen, Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled, Lee surrendered, Mobile captured. Nothing of the Confederacy, in short, remained but Johnston's army, and it was generally believed that its surrender to Sherman was but a matter of hours. How completely the conflict was at an end, however, the people of the North had not realized until they read in their newspapers on that Good Friday morning the order of the Secretary of War suspending the draft, stopping the purchase of military supplies, and removing military restrictions from trade. The war was over indeed.

Such a day of rejoicing as followed the world has rarely seen. At Fort Sumter scores of well-known citizens of the North, among them Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, General Robert Anderson, and Theodore Tilton, raised over the black and shattered pile the flag which four years ago Charleston, now lying desolate and wasted, had dragged down.

Cities and towns, hamlets and country roadsides blossomed with flags and bunting. Stock exchanges

met to pass resolutions. Bells rang. Every man who could make a speech was on his feet. It was a Millennium Day, restoring broken homes, quieting aching hearts, easing distracted minds. Even those who mourned—and who could count the number whom that dreadful four years had stripped of those they held dearest?—even those who mourned exulted. Their dead had saved a nation, freed a people. And so a subtle joy, mingled triumph, resignation, and hope swept over the North. It was with all men as James Russell Lowell wrote to his friend Norton that it was with him: "The news, my dear Charles, is from Heaven. I felt a strange and tender exaltation. I wanted to laugh and I wanted to cry, and ended by holding my peace and feeling devoutly thankful."

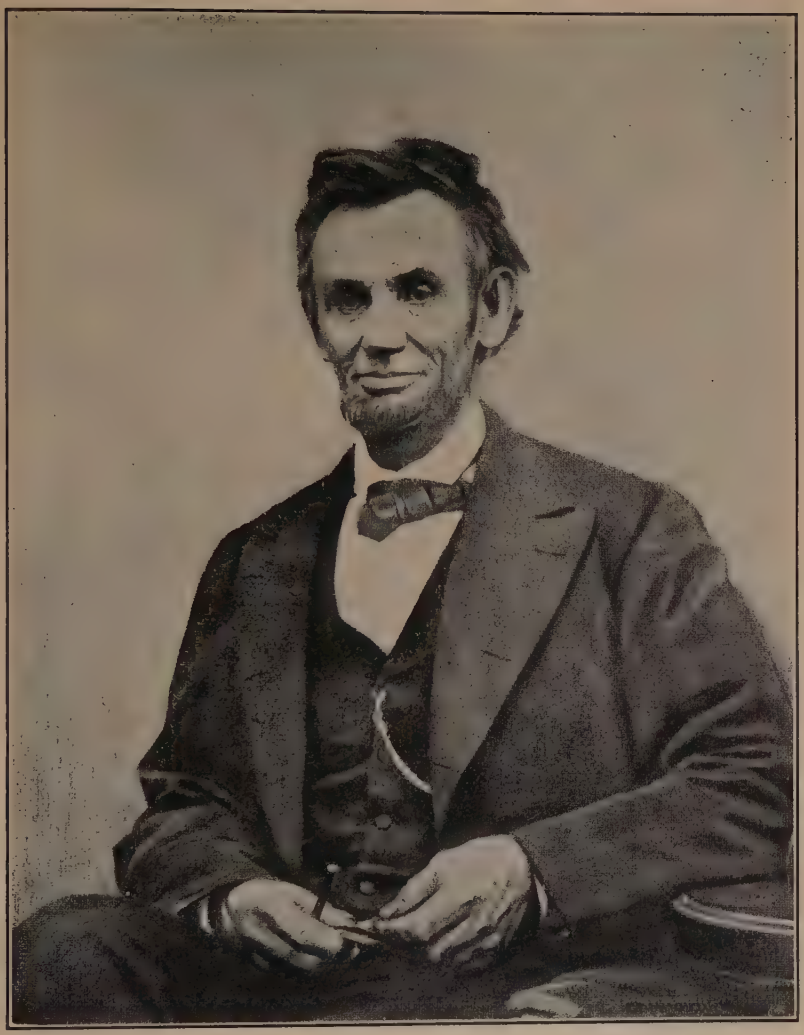
One man before all others in the nation felt and showed his gladness that day—the President, Abraham Lincoln. For weeks now as he had seen the end approaching, little by little he had been thankfully laying aside the ways of war and returning to those of peace. His soul, tuned by nature to gentleness and good-will, had been for four years forced to lead in a pitiless war. Now his duties were to "bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan"; to devise plans by which the members of the restored Union could live together in harmony, to plan for the future of the four million human beings to whom he had given freedom. All those who were with him in this period remarked the change in his feelings and his ways. He seemed to be aroused to a new sense of the beauty of peace and rest, to love to linger in

quiet spots, and to read over and over with infinite satisfaction lines of poetry which expressed repose. The perfect tranquillity in death seemed especially to appeal to him. Mrs. Lincoln once related to her friend, Isaac Arnold, that, while at City Point, in April, she was driving one day with her husband along the banks of the James, when they passed a country graveyard. "It was a retired place, shaded by trees, and early spring flowers were opening on nearly every grave. It was so quiet and attractive that they stopped the carriage and walked through it. Mr. Lincoln seemed thoughtful and impressed. He said: 'Mary, you are younger than I. You will survive me. When I am gone, lay my remains in some quiet place like this.' "

A few days after this, as he was sailing down the James bound for Washington, Charles Sumner, who was in the party, noted the tone and manner in which Mr. Lincoln read aloud two or three times a passage from Macbeth:

> "Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
> Can touch him further!"

There was a marked change in his appearance. All through 1863 and 1864 his thin face had day by day grown more haggard, its lines had deepened, its pallor had become a more ghastly gray. His eye, always sad when he was in thought, had a look of unutterable grief. Through all these months Lincoln



THE LAST PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, TAKEN APRIL 9, 1865, THE SUNDAY BEFORE HIS ASSASSINATION.

Drawn from a photograph made by Alexander Gardner, photographer to the Army of the Potomac, while the President was sharpening a pencil for his son Tad. Copyright, 1894, by Watson Porter.

was, in fact, consumed by sorrow. "I think I shall never be glad again," he said once to a friend. But as one by one the weights lifted, a change came over him; his form straightened, his face cleared, the lines became less accentuated. "His whole appearance, poise, and bearing had marvellously changed," says the Hon. James Harlan. "He was in fact, transfigured. That indescribable sadness which had previously seemed to be an adamantine element of his very being, had been suddenly changed for an equally indescribable expression of serene joy, as if conscious that the great purpose of his life had been achieved."

Never since he had become convinced that the end of the war was near had Mr. Lincoln seemed to his friends more glad, more serene, than on the 14th of April. The morning was soft and sunny in Washington, and as the spring was early in 1865 the Judas-trees and the dogwood were blossoming on the hillsides, the willows were green along the Potomac, and in the parks and gardens the lilacs bloomed—a day of promise and joy to which the whole town responded. Indeed, ever since the news of the fall of Richmond reached Washington the town had been indulging in an almost unbroken celebration, each new victory arousing a fresh outburst and rekindling enthusiasm. On the night of the 13th there had been a splendid illumination, and on the 14th the rejoicing went on. The suspension of the draft and the presence of Grant in town—come this time not to plan new campaigns, but to talk of peace and reconstruction—seemed to furnish special reason for celebrating.

At the White House the family party which met at breakfast was unusually happy. Captain Robert Lincoln, the President's oldest son, then an aide-de-camp on Grant's staff, had arrived that morning, and the closing scenes of Grant's campaign were discussed with the deepest interest by father and son. Soon after breakfast the President received Schuyler Colfax, who was about to leave for the West, and later in the morning the Cabinet met, Friday being its regular day. General Grant was invited to remain to its session. There was the greatest interest at the moment in General Sherman's movements, and Grant was plied with questions by the Cabinet. The President was least anxious of all. The news would soon come, he said, and it would be favorable. He had no doubt of this, for the night before he had had a dream which had preceded nearly every important event of the war.

"He said it was in my department, it related to the water," Secretary Welles afterward wrote; "that he seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel, but always the same, and that he was moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore; that he had had this singular dream preceding the firing on Sumter, the battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, Wilmington, etc. . . . Victory did not always follow his dream, but the event and results were important. He had no doubt that a battle had taken place or was about being fought, 'and Johnston will be beaten, for I had this strange dream again last night. It must relate to Sherman; my thoughts are in that direction, and *I*

know of no other very important event which is likely just now to occur.'"

The greater part of the meeting was taken up with a discussion of the policy of reconstruction. How were they to treat the states and the men who had tried to leave the Union, but who now were forced back into their old relations? How could practical civil government be reëstablished; how could trade be restored between North and South; what should be done with those who had led the states to revolt? The President urged his Cabinet to consider carefully all these questions, and he warned them emphatically, Mr. Welles says, that he did not sympathize with and would not participate in any feelings of hate and vindictiveness. "He hoped there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off, said he, throwing up his hands as if scaring sheep. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There was too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those states, to treat the people not as fellow-citizens; there was too little respect for their rights. He didn't sympathize in these feelings."

The impression he made on all the Cabinet that day was expressed twenty-four hours later by Secretary Stanton: "He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, mani-

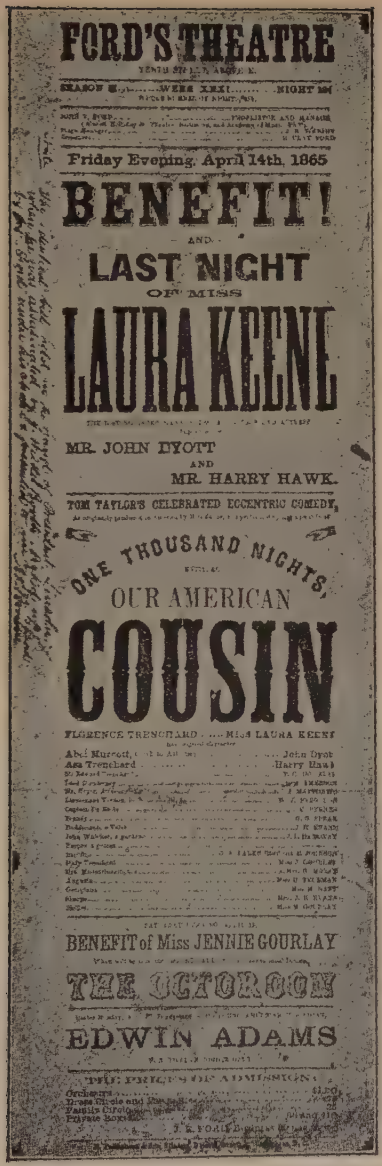
fested in marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him."

In the afternoon the President went for his usual drive. Only Mrs. Lincoln was with him. Years afterwards Mrs. Lincoln related to Isaac Arnold what she remembered of Mr. Lincoln's words that day:

"Mary," he said, "we have had a hard time of it since we came to Washington; but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet. We have laid by some money, and during this term we will try and save up more, but shall not have enough to support us. We will go back to Illinois, and I will open a law office at Springfield or Chicago, and practice law, and at least do enough to help give us a livelihood."

It was late in the afternoon when he returned from his drive, and as he left his carriage he saw going across the lawn toward the Treasury a group of friends, among them Richard Oglesby, then Governor of Illinois. "Come back, boys, come back," he shouted. The party turned, joined the President on the portico, and went up to his office with him.

"How long we remained there I do not remember," says Governor Oglesby. "Lincoln got to reading some humorous book; I think it was by 'John Phœnix.' They kept sending for him to come to dinner. He promised each time to go, but would continue reading the book. Finally he got a sort of peremptory order that he must come to dinner at once. It was explained to me by the old man at the door that they were going to have dinner and then go to the theater."



FORD'S THEATRE

Friday Evening, April 14th, 1865

BENEFIT!

AND

LAST NIGHT

OF MISS

LAURA KEENE

MR. JOHN DYOTT

AND

MR. HARRY HAWK.

TOM TAYLOR'S CELEBRATED ECCENTRIC COMEDY,

ONE THOUSAND NIGHTS,

OUR AMERICAN

COUSIN

FLORENCE TRENCHARD ..... Miss LAURA KEENE

Abel Murcott ..... John Dyott

Asa Trenchard ..... Harry Hawk

BENEFIT of Miss JENNIE GOURLAY

THE OCTOROON

EDWIN ADAMS

THE PRICES OF ADMISSION:

Orchestra $1.50

Dress Circle and Parquette 1.00

Family Circle 50

Private Boxes ..... $10 and $15

J. T. FORD, Proprietor

FACSIMILE OF THE PROGRAMME USED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON THE NIGHT OF HIS ASSASSINATION.

The original was found by J. T. Ford, proprietor of the theater, beside the chair in which the President sat at the time of the tragedy.

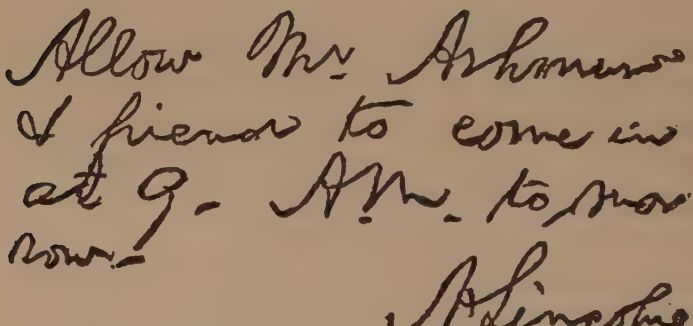
A theater party had been made up by Mrs. Lincoln for that evening—General and Mrs. Grant being her guests—to see Laura Keene, at Ford's Theater, in "Our American Cousin." Miss Keene was ending her season in Washington that night with a benefit. The box had been ordered in the morning, and unusual preparations had been made to receive the presidential party. The partition between the two upper proscenium boxes at the left of the stage had been removed, comfortable upholstered chairs had been put in, and the front of the box had been draped with flags. The manager, of course, took care to announce in the afternoon papers that the "President and his lady" and the "Hero of Appomattox" would attend Miss Keene's benefit that evening.

By eight o'clock the house was filled with the half-idle, half-curious crowd of a holiday night. Many had come simply to see General Grant, whose face was then unfamiliar in Washington. Others, strolling down the street, had dropped in because they had nothing better to do. The play began promptly, the house following its nonsensical fun with friendly eyes and generous applause, one eye on the President's box.

The presidential party was late. Indeed it had not left the White House until after eight o'clock, and then it was made up differently from what Mrs. Lincoln had expected, for in the afternoon she had received word that General and Mrs. Grant had decided to go North that night. It was suggested then that the party be given up, but the fear that the public would be disappointed decided the President to keep

the engagement. Two young friends, the daughter of Senator Ira Harris and his stepson, Major H. R. Rathbone, had been invited to take the place of General and Mrs. Grant.

Schuyler Colfax and Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, had called early in the evening, and the President had talked with them a little while. He rose



THE LAST BIT OF WRITING DONE BY LINCOLN
Loaned by G. A. Morton, New Haven, Conn.

finally with evident regret to go to his carriage. The two gentlemen accompanied him to the door, and he paused there long enough to write on a card, "Allow Mr. Ashmun and friends to come in at nine A. M. tomorrow." As he shook hands with them he said to Mr. Colfax: "Colfax, don't forget to tell those people in the mining regions what I told you this morning." Then, entering the carriage, he was driven to the theater on Tenth Street, between E and F.

When the presidential party finally entered the

theater, making its way along the gallery behind the seats of the dress circle, the orchestra broke into "Hail to the Chief," and the people, rising in their seats and waving hats and handkerchiefs, cheered and cheered, the actors on the stage standing silent in the meantime. The party passed through the narrow entrance into the box, and the several members laid aside their wraps and, bowing and smiling to the enthusiastic crowd below, seated themselves, Mr. Lincoln in a large armchair at the left, Mrs. Lincoln next to him, Miss Harris next, and to the extreme right, a little behind Miss Harris, Major Rathbone; and then the play went on.

The party in the box was well entertained, it seemed, especially the President, who laughed good-humoredly at the jokes and chatted cheerfully between the acts. He moved from his seat but once, rising then to put on his overcoat, for the house was chilly. The audience was well entertained, too, though not a few kept an eye on the box entrance, still expecting General Grant. The few whose eyes sought the box now and then noticed, in the second scene of the third act, that a man was passing behind the seats of the dress circle and approaching the entrance to the box. Those who did not know him noticed that he was strikingly handsome, though very pale; that was all. They did not look again. It was not General Grant.

One man did watch him. He recognized him and wanted to see who in the presidential box it could be that he knew well enough to call on in the middle of an act. If any attendant saw him, there was no question of his movements. He was a privileged person

in the theater, having free entrance to every corner. He had been there in the course of the day; he had passed out and in once or twice during the evening.

Crowding behind some loose chairs in the aisle, the man passed out of sight through the door leading into the passage behind the President's box. He closed the door behind him, paused for a moment, then did a curious thing for a visitor to a theater party. He picked up a piece of stout plank which he seemed to know just where to find and slipped one end into a hole gouged into the wall close to the door-casing. The plank extended across the door, making a rough but effective bolt. Turning to the door which led from the passage to the boxes, he may have peered through a tiny hole which had been drilled through the panel. If he did, he saw a quiet party intent on the play, the President just then smiling over a bit of homely wit.

Opening the door so quietly that no one heard him, the man entered the box. Then if any eye in the house could but have looked, if one head in the box had been turned, it would have been seen that the man held in his right hand a Derringer pistol, and that he raised the weapon and aimed it steadily at the head of the smiling President.

No eye saw him, but a second later and every ear heard a pistol shot. Those in the house unfamiliar with the play thought it a part of the performance and waited expectant. Those familiar with "Our American Cousin," the orchestra, attendants, actors, searched in amazement to see from where the sound came. Only three persons in all the house knew just

CHAIR IN WHICH PRESIDENT LINCOLN WAS SITTING
WHEN SHOT.

where it was—three of the four in the box knew it was there by their side—a tragedy. The fourth saw nothing, heard nothing, thought nothing. His head had fallen quietly on his breast, his arms had relaxed a little, the smile was still on his lips.

Then from the box, now filled with white smoke, came a woman's sharp cry, and there was the noise of a struggle. Major Rathbone, at the sound of the shot, had sprung to his feet and grappled with the stranger, who now had a dagger in his hand and struck viciously with it at the Major's heart. He, warding the blow from his breast, received it in his upper arm, and his hold relaxed. The stranger sprang to the balustrade of the box as if about to leap, but Major Rathbone caught at his garments. They were torn from his grasp, and the man vaulted toward the stage, a light, agile leap, which turned to a plunge as the silken flag in front caught at the spur on his boot. As the man struck the floor his left leg bent and a bone snapped, but instantly he was up; and, limping to the middle of the stage, a long strip of the silken banner trailing from his spur, he turned full on the house, which still stared straight ahead, searching for the meaning of the muffled pistol shot. Brandishing his dagger and shouting—so many thought, though there were others whose ears were so frozen with amazement that they heard nothing—*"Sic semper tyrannis!"* he turned to fly. Not, however, before more than one person in the house had said to himself, "Why, it is John Wilkes Booth!" Not before others had realized that the shot was that of a murderer, that the woman's cry in the box came

from Mrs. Lincoln, that the President in all the turmoil alone sat calm, his head unmoved on his breast. As these few grasped the awful meaning of the confused scene, they seemed unable to rise or cry out. They stretched out inarticulate arms, struggling to tear themselves from the nightmare which held them. When strength and voice did return, they plunged over the seats, forgetting their companions, bruising themselves, and clambered to the stage, crying aloud in rage and despair, "Hang him, hang him!" But Booth, though his leg was broken, was too quick. He struck with his dagger at one who caught him, plunged through a familiar back exit and, leaping upon a horse standing ready for him, fled. When those who pursued reached the street, they heard only the rapidly receding clatter of a horse's hoofs.

But while a few in the house pursued Booth, others had thought only of reaching the box. The stage was now full of actors in their paint and furbelows, musicians with their instruments, men in evening dress, officers in uniform—a motley, wild-eyed crowd which, as Miss Harris appeared at the edge of the box crying out, "Bring water. Has any one stimulants?" demanded, "What is it? What is the matter?"

"The President is shot," was her reply.

A surgeon was helped over the balustrade into the box. The star of the evening, whose triumph this was to have been, strove to calm the distracted throng; then she, too, sought the box. Major Rathbone, who first of all in the house had realized that a foul crime had been attempted, had turned from his unsuccessful attempt to stop the murderer to see that it was the

President who had been shot. He had rushed to the door of the passage, where men were already beating in a furious effort to gain admission, and had found it barred. It was an instant before he could pull away the plank, explain the tragedy, demand surgeons, and press back the crowd.

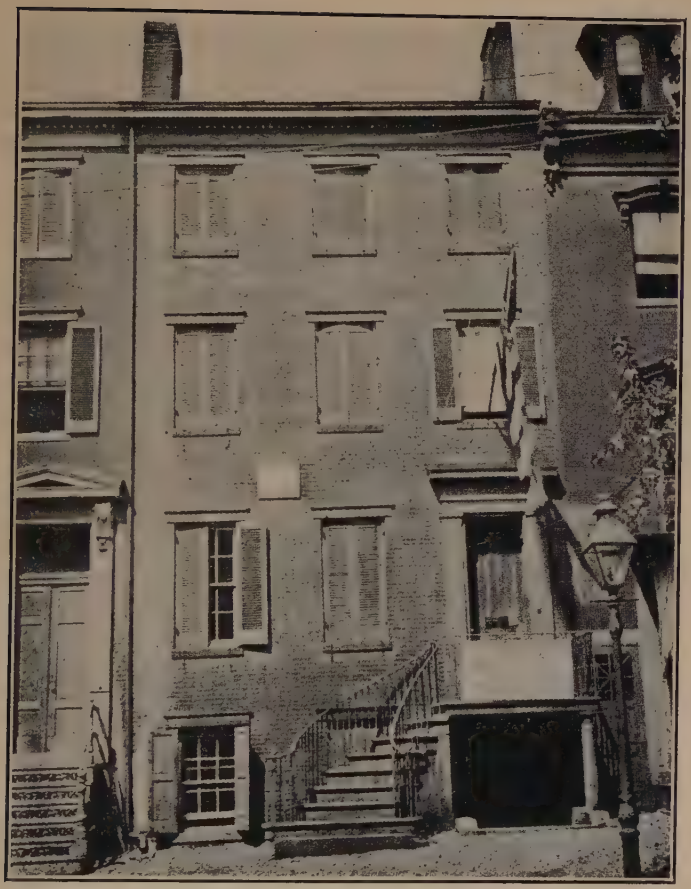
The physicians admitted lifted the silent figure, still sitting calmly in the chair, stretched it on the floor, and began to tear away the clothing to find the wound, which they supposed was in the breast. It was a moment before it was discovered that the ball had entered the head back of the left ear and was imbedded in the brain.

There seemed to be but one desire then: to get the wounded man from the scene of the murder. Two persons lifted him, and the stricken party passed from the box, through the dress circle, down the stairs into the street, the blood dripping from the wound faster and faster as they went. No one seemed to know where they were going, for as they reached the street there was a helpless pause and an appeal from the bearers, "Where shall we take him?" Across the street, on the high front steps of a plain, three-storied brick house, stood a man, who but a moment before had left the theater, rather bored by the play. He had seen, as he stood there idly wondering if he should go in to bed or not, a violent commotion in the vestibule of the theater; had seen people rushing out, the street filling up, policemen and soldiers appearing. He did not know what it all meant. Then two men bearing a body came from the theater, behind them a woman in evening gown, flowers in her hair, jewels

on her neck. She was wringing her hands and moaning. The man on the steps heard some one say, "The President is shot"; heard the bearers of the body asking, "Where shall we take him?" and quickly coming forward, he said, "Bring him here into my room."

And so the President was carried up the high steps, through a narrow hall, and laid, still unconscious, still motionless, on the bed of a poor, little, commonplace room of a commonplace lodging-house, where surgeons and physicians gathered about in a desperate attempt to rescue him from death.

While the surgeons worked the news was spreading to the town. Every man and woman in the theater rushed forth to tell it. Some ran wildly down the streets, exclaiming to those they met, "The President is killed! The President is killed!" One rushed into a ballroom, and told it to the dancers; another bursting into a room where a party of eminent public men were playing cards, cried, "Lincoln is shot!" Another, running into the auditorium of Grover's Theater, cried, "President Lincoln has been shot in his private box at Ford's Theater." Those who heard the cry thought the man insane or drunk, but a moment later they saw the actors in a combat called from the stage, the manager coming forward. His face was pale, his voice agonized, as he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I feel it my duty to say to you that the announcement made from the front of the theater just now is true. President Lincoln has been shot." One ran to summon Secretary Stanton. A boy picked up at the door of the house where the President lay was sent to the White House for Robert Lincoln.



HOUSE AT 516 TENTH STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C., IN WHICH LINCOLN DIED.

Now occupied by O. H. Oldroyd and family, who have on exhibition there the "Oldroyd Lincoln Memorial Collection."

The news spread by the very force of its own horror, and as it spread it met other news hardly less terrible. At the same hour that Booth had sent the ball into the President's brain, a man had forced his way into the house of Secretary Seward, then lying in bed with a broken arm, and had stabbed both the Secretary and his son Frederick so seriously that it was feared they would die. In his entrance and exit he had wounded three other members of the household. Like Booth, he had escaped. Horror bred rumor, and Secretary Stanton was reported wounded, while later it was said that Grant had been killed on his way North. Dread seized the town.

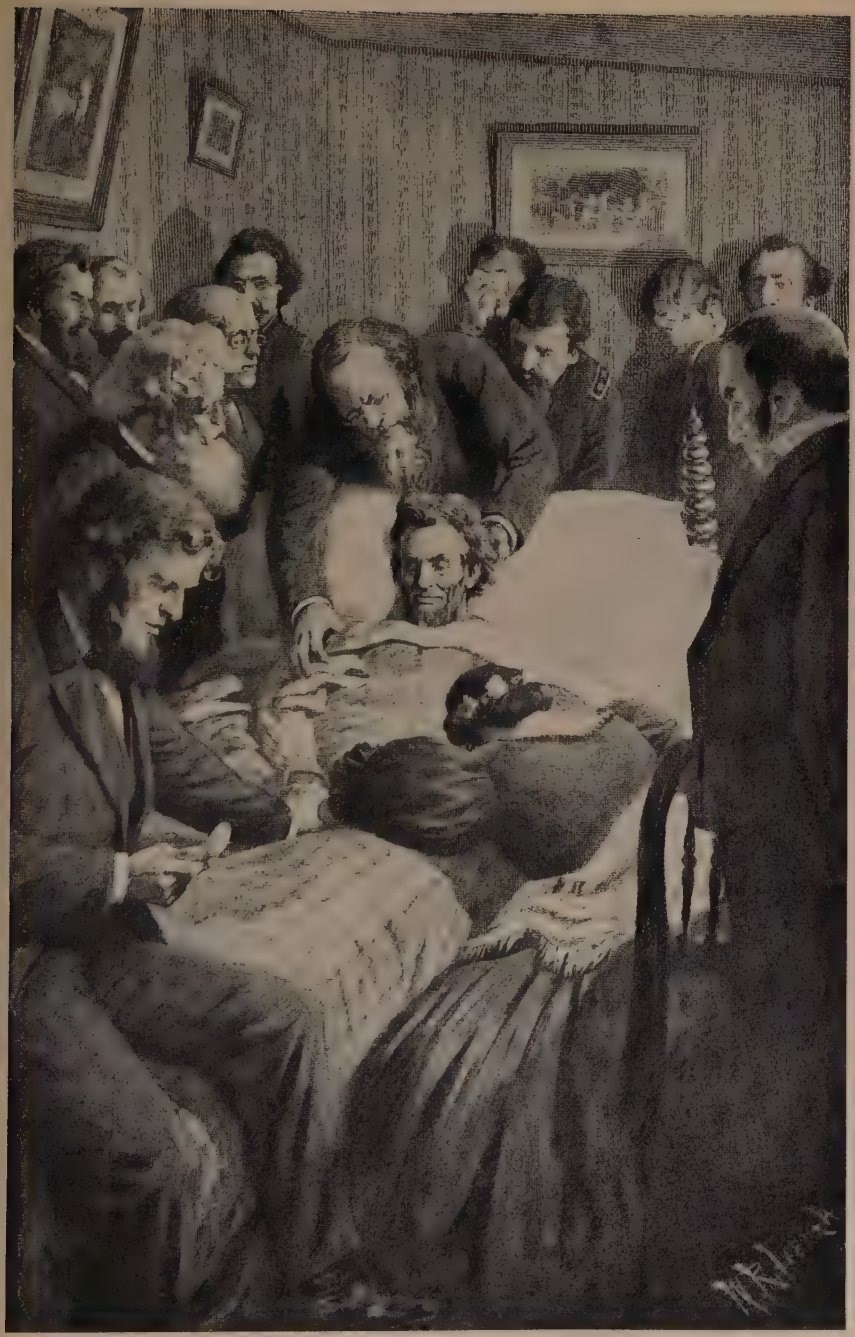
"Rumors are so thick," wrote the editor of the "National Intelligencer" at two o'clock in the morning, "the excitement of this hour is so intense, that we rely entirely upon our reporters to advise the public of the details and result of this night of horrors. Evidently conspirators are among us. To what extent does the conspiracy exist? This is a terrible question. When a spirit so horrible as this is abroad, what man is safe? We can only advise the utmost vigilance and the most prompt measures by the authorities. We can only pray God to shield us, His unworthy people, from further calamities like these."

The civil and military authorities prepared for attack from within and without. Martial law was at once established. The long roll was beaten; every exit from the city was guarded; out-going trains were stopped; mounted police and cavalry clattered up and down the street; the forts were ordered on the alert; guns were manned.

In the meantime there had gathered in the house

on Tenth Street, where the President lay, his family physician and intimate friends, as well as many prominent officials. Before they reached him it was known there was no hope, that the wound was fatal. They grouped themselves about the bedside or in the adjoining rooms, trying to comfort the weeping wife or listening awe-struck to the steady moaning and labored breathing of the unconscious man, which at times could be heard all over the house. Stanton alone seemed able to act methodically. No man felt the tragedy more than the great War Secretary, for no one in the Cabinet was by greatness of heart and intellect better able to comprehend the worth of the dying President; but no man in that distracted night acted with greater energy or calm. Summoning the Assistant Secretary, C. A. Dana, and a stenographer, he began dictating orders to the authorities on all sides, notifying them of the tragedy, directing them what precautions to take, what persons to arrest. He directed that Grant, now returning to Washington, should be warned to keep close watch on all persons who came near him in the cars and that an engine should be sent in front of his train. He sent out, too, an official account of the assassination. To-day the best brief story of the night's awful work remains the one which Secretary Stanton dictated within sound of the moaning of the dying President.

And so the hours passed without perceptible change in the President's condition and with only slight shifting of the scene around him. The testimony of those who had witnessed the murder began to be taken in an adjoining room. Mrs. Lincoln came



WATCHING AT THE BEDSIDE OF THE DYING PRESIDENT ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 14 AND 15, 1865.

in at intervals, sobbing out her grief, and then was led away. Occasionally the figures at the bedside changed, this man going, another taking his place. It was not until daylight that there came a perceptible change. Then the breathing grew quieter, the face became more calm. The doctors at Lincoln's side knew that dissolution was near. Their bulletin of six o'clock read, "Pulse failing"; that of half-past six, "Still failing"; that of seven, "Symptoms of immediate dissolution," and then at twenty-two minutes past seven, in the presence of his son Robert, Secretaries Stanton, Welles and Usher, Attorney General Speed, Senator Sumner, Private Secretary Hay, Dr. Gurley, his pastor, and several physicians and friends, Abraham Lincoln died. There was a prayer, and then the solemn voice of Stanton broke the stillness, "Now he belongs to the ages."

Two hours later the body of the President, wrapped in an American flag, was borne from the house in Tenth Street, and carried through the hushed streets, where already thousands of flags were at half-mast and gay buntings and garlands had been replaced by black draperies, and where the men who for days had been cheering in excess of joy and relief now stood with uncovered heads and wet eyes. They carried him to an upper room in the private apartments of the White House, and there he lay until three days later a heart-broken people claimed their right to look for a last time on his face.

CHAPTER XXXI

LINCOLN'S FUNERAL

THE first edition of the morning papers in all the cities and towns of the North told their readers on Saturday, April 15, 1865, that Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, lay mortally wounded in Washington. The extras within the next two hours told them he was dead. The first impulse of men everywhere seems to have been to doubt. It could not be. They realized only too quickly that it was true! There was no discrediting the circumstantial accounts of the later telegrams. There was no escape from the horror and uncertainty which filled the air, driving out the joy and exultation which for days had inundated the country.

In the great cities like New York a death-like silence followed the spreading of the news—a silence made the more terrible by the presence of hundreds of men and women walking in the streets with bent heads, white faces, and knit brows. Automatically, without thought of what their neighbors were doing, these men went to their shops only to send away their clerks and close their doors for the day. Stock exchanges met only to adjourn. By ten o'clock business had ceased. It was not only in the cities, where the tension of feeling is always greatest, that this was true. It was the same in the small towns.

"I was a compositor then, working in a printing office at Danville, Illinois," Prof. A. G. Draper, of Washington, D. C., told the writer. "The editor came into the room early in the forenoon with a telegram in his hand; he was regarding it intently, with a pale face. Without saying a word he passed it to one and another of the compositors. I noticed that as the men read it they laid down their sticks, and without a word, one after another, took their coats and hats off the nails where they were hanging, put them on, and went into the street. Finally the telegram was passed to me. It was the announcement that Lincoln had been shot the night before and had died that morning. Automatically I laid down my stick, took my hat and coat, and went into the street. It seemed to me as if every man in town had dropped his business just where it was and come out. There was no sound; but the people, with pale faces and tense looks, regarded one another as if questioning what would happen next."

Just as the first universal impulse seems to have been to cease all business, so the next was to drag down the banners of victory which hung everywhere and replace them by crape. New York City before noon of Saturday was hung in black from the Battery to Harlem. It was not only Broadway and Washington Square and Fifth Avenue which mourned. The soiled windows of Five Points tenements and saloons were draped, and from the doors of the poor hovels of upper Manhattan west of Central Park bits of black weed were strung. And so it was in all the cities and towns of the North.

"About nine o'clock on Saturday the intelligence reached us of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the attempt upon Mr. Seward's life," wrote Senator Grimes from Burlington,

Iowa. "Immediately the people began to assemble about the 'Hawkeye' office, and soon Third Street became packed with people. And such expressions of horror, indignation, sorrow, and wonder were never heard before. Shortly, some one began to decorate his house with the habiliments of mourning; and soon all the business part of the town, even the vilest liquor dens, was shrouded with the outward signs of sorrow. All business was at once suspended and not resumed during the day; but every one waited for further intelligence from Washington."

And this was true not only of the towns, it was true of the distant farms. There the news was slower in coming. A traveller journeying from the town stopped to tell it at a farmhouse. The farmer, leaving his plow, walked or rode across lots to repeat it to a neighbor. Everywhere they dropped their work, and everywhere they brought out a strip of black and tied it to the door-knob.

The awful quiet of the North through the first few hours after the tragedy covered not grief alone; below it was a righteous anger, which, as the hours passed, began to break out. It showed itself first against those of Southern sympathy who were bold enough to say they were "glad of it." In New York a man was heard to remark that "it served old Abe right." Cries of "Lynch him, lynch him!" were raised. He was set upon by the crowd, and escaped narrowly. All day the police were busy hustling suspected Copperheads away from the mobs which seemed to rise from the ground at the first word of treason.

"I was kept busy last night," further wrote Senator Grimes from Burlington, "trying to prevent the destruction of the store of a foolish woman who, it was

said, expressed her joy at Mr. Lincoln's murder. Had she been a man, so much was the old Adam aroused in me, I would not have uttered a word to save her."

In Cincinnati, which had spent the day and night before in the most elaborate jubilation, the rage against treason broke out at the least provocation.

"Some individuals of the 'butternut' inclination," says a former citizen, in recalling these days, "were knocked into the gutters and kicked, because they would make no expression of sorrow, or because of their well-known past sympathy with the rebellion. Others as loyal as any suffered also, through mistaken ideas of meanness on the part of personal enemies. Junius Brutus Booth, a brother of the assassin, was closing a two-weeks' engagement at Pike Opera House. He was stopping at the Burnet House. While there was no violent public demonstration against him, it was well known that his life would not be worth a farthing should he be seen on the streets or in public. Of course the bills were taken down, and there was no performance that night. Mr. Booth was well pleased quietly to escape from the Burnet and disappear."

In one New Hampshire town, where a company of volunteers from the country had gathered to drill, it was rumored that a man in a factory near by had been heard to say, "The old abolitionist ought to have been killed long ago." The volunteers marched in a body to the factory, entered, and dragged the offender out into the road. There they held a crude court-martial. "The company surrounded him," says one of the men, "in such military order as raw recruits could get into, and questioned him as to his utterances. He was will-

ing to do or say anything. 'Duck him!' was the cry raised on every hand. The canal was close at hand, but there were voices heard saying: 'He's an old man. Don't duck him. Send him out of town.' And so it was done. He was compelled to give three cheers for the Stars and Stripes. I shall never forget his pitiful little 'Hooray!' He was made to kneel down and repeat something in praise of Abraham Lincoln that one of the officers dictated to him, and then he was marched to his boarding-place, given certain minutes to pack up his effects, and escorted to the railroad station, where he was sent off on the next train. This was a very mild example of the feeling there was. Had the man been a real American Copperhead, he would scarcely have escaped a ducking, and perhaps a drubbing also; but many said: 'He's only an Englishman, and doesn't know any better.' "

The most important expression of the feeling was that at a great noon meeting held at the Custom House in New York. Among the speakers were General Butler, E. L. Chittenden, Daniel L. Dickinson, William P. Fessenden, and General Garfield. The awful, wrathful, righteous indignation of the meeting is told in the following citations from the speeches:

"If rebellion can do this to the wise, the kind, the benevolent Abraham Lincoln," said Butler, "what ought we to do to those who from high places incited the assassin's mind and guided the assassin's knife? [Applause, and cries of 'Hang them!'] Shall we content ourselves with simply crushing out the strength, the power, the material resources of the rebellion? ['Never, never.'] Shall we leave it yet

unsubdued to light the torch of conflagration in our cities? Are we to have peace in fact or peace only in name? [Cries of 'In fact' and applause.] Is this nation hereafter to live in peace, or are men to go about in fear and in dread, as in some of the countries of the Old World, in times past, when every man feared his neighbor, and no man went about except he was armed to the teeth or was clad in panoply of steel? This question is to be decided this day, and at this hour by the American people. It may be that this is a dispensation of God, through His providence, to teach us that the spirit of rebellion has not been broken with the surrender of its arms." [Applause.]

"Fellow citizens," said Garfield, "they have slain the noblest and most generous spirit that ever put down a rebellion on this earth. [Applause.] It may be almost impious to say it; but it does seem to me that his death almost parallels that of the Son of God, who cried out, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' But in taking away that life they have left the iron hand of the people to fall upon them. [Great applause.] Peace, forgiveness and mercy are the attributes of this government, but Justice and Judgment with inexorable tread follow behind, and when they have slain love, when they have despised mercy, when they have rejected those that would be their best friends, then comes justice with hoodwinked eyes and the sword."

The tense despair and rage of the people on Saturday had not broken when they gathered on Sunday for worship. Never, perhaps, in any sorrow, any disaster that this nation has suffered, was there so spontaneous a turning to the church for consolation as on this Sabbath day. Never, perhaps, did the clergy of a country rise more universally to console the grief of a people than on this day. Everywhere, from East to West, the death of the President was the theme

of the sermons, and men who never before in their lives had said anything but commonplaces rose to eloquence. One of the most touching of the Sunday gatherings was at Bloomington, Illinois. Elsewhere it was only a President, a national leader, who had been lost; here it was a personal friend, and people refused to be comforted. On Sunday morning there were sermons in all the churches, but they seemed in no way to relieve the tension. Later in the day word was circulated that a general out-of-door meeting would be held at the court-house, and people gathered from far and near, townspeople and country people, in the yard about the court-house, where for years they had been accustomed to see Lincoln coming and going; and the ministers of the town, all of them his friends, talked one after another, until finally, comforted and resigned, the people separated silently and went home.

On Monday a slight distraction came in the announcement of the plan for the funeral ceremonies. After much discussion, it had been decided that a public funeral should be held in Washington, and that the body should then lie in state for brief periods at each of the larger cities on the way to Springfield, whither it was to be taken for burial. The necessity of at once beginning preparations for the reception of the funeral party furnished the first real relief to the grief which had paralyzed the country.

The dead President had lain in an upper chamber of the White House from the time of his removal there on Saturday morning until Tuesday morning, when he was laid under a magnificent catafalque in

the centre of the great East Room. Although there were in Washington many citizens who sympathized with the South, although the plot for assassination had been developed there, yet no sign appeared of any feeling but grief and indignation. It is said that there were not fifty houses in the city that were not draped in black, and it seemed as if every man, woman, and child were seeking some souvenir of the tragedy. A child was found at the Tenth Street house staining bits of soft paper with the half-dried blood on the steps. Fragments of the stained linen from the bed on which the President died were passed from hand to hand; locks of the hair cut away by the surgeons were begged; his latest photograph, the papers of the day, programmes of the funeral, a hundred trivial relics were gathered together, and are treasured to-day by the original owners or their children. They

> "dip their napkins in his sacred blood;
> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
> And, dying, mention it within their wills,
> Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
> Unto their issue."

On Tuesday morning, when the White House was opened, it was practically the whole population, augmented by hundreds from the North, who waited at the gates. All day long they surged steadily through the East Room, and at night, when the gates were closed, Lafayette Park and the adjoining streets were still packed with people waiting for admission. In this great company of mourners two classes were conspicuous, the soldiers and the negroes. One had

come from camp and hospital, the other from country and hovel, and both wept unrestrainedly as they looked on the dead face of the man who had been to one a father, to the other a liberator.

Wednesday had been chosen for the funeral, and every device was employed by the Government to make the ceremony fitting in pomp and solemnity. The greatest of the nation—members of the cabinet, senators, congressmen, diplomats; representatives of the churches, of the courts, of commerce, of all that was distinguished and powerful in the North, were present in the East Room. Mr. Lincoln's friend, Bishop Simpson, and his pastor, Dr. Gurley, conducted the services. More than one spectator noted that in the great assembly there was but one person bearing the name of Lincoln and related to the President—his son Robert. Mrs. Lincoln was not able to endure the emotion of the scene, and little Tad could not be induced to be present.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the booming of cannon and the tolling of bells announced that the services were ended. A few moments later, the coffin was borne from the White House and placed in a magnificent funeral car and, under the conduct of a splendid military and civilian escort, conveyed slowly to the Capitol, attended by thousands upon thousands of men and women. At the east front of the Capitol the procession halted, and the body of Abraham Lincoln was borne across the portico, from which six weeks before in assuming for the second time the presidency, he had explained to the country his views upon reconstruction: "With malice toward none; with

THE FUNERAL CAR IN WHICH LINCOLN'S BODY WAS TRANSPORTED.

charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

The rotunda of the Capitol, into which the coffin was now carried, was draped in black, and under the dome was a great catafalque. On this coffin was placed, and after a simple service there left alone, save for the soldiers who paced back and forth at the head and foot.

But it was not in Washington alone that funeral services were held that day. All over the North, in Canada, in the Army of the Potomac, even in Richmond, business was suspended, and at noon people gathered to listen to eulogies of the dead. Twenty-five million people literally participated in the funeral rites of that Wednesday.

On Thursday the Capitol was opened, and here again, in spite of a steady rain, were repeated the scenes of Tuesday at the White House, thousands of persons slowly mounting the long flight of steps leading to the east entrance and passing through the rotunda.

At six o'clock on the morning of April 21, there gathered in the rotunda the members of the cabinet, Lieutenant-General Grant and his staff, many senators, army and navy officers, and other dignitaries. After a prayer by Dr. Gurley, the party followed the coffin to the railway station, where the funeral train

which was to convey the remains of Abraham Lincoln from Washington to Springfield now stood. A great company of people had gathered for the last scene of the tragedy, and they waited in absolute silence and with uncovered heads while the coffin was placed in the car. At its foot was placed a smaller coffin, that of Willie Lincoln, the President's beloved son, who had died in February, 1862. At Mrs. Lincoln's request, father and son were to make together this last earthly journey.

Following the remains of the President came the party which was to serve as an escort to Springfield. It included several of Lincoln's old-time friends, among them Judge David Davis and Ward Lamon; a guard of honor, composed of prominent army officers; a large congressional committee, several governors of states, a special delegation from Illinois, and a bodyguard. From time to time on the journey this party was joined for brief periods by other eminent men, though it remained practically the same throughout. Three of its members—Judge Davis, General Hunter, and Marshal Lamon—had been with Mr. Lincoln when he came on to Washington for his first inauguration.

Precisely at eight o'clock, the train of nine cars pulled out from the station. It moved slowly, almost noiselessly, not a bell ringing nor a whistle sounding, through a mourning throng that lined the way to the borders of the town.

The line of the journey begun on this Friday morning was practically the same that Mr. Lincoln had followed four years before when he came to Washing-

ton for his first inauguration. It led through Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Chicago to Springfield. The entire programme of the journey, including the hours when the train would pass certain towns where it could not stop, had been published long enough beforehand to enable the people along the way to arrange, if they wished, to pay a tribute to the dead President. The result was a demonstration which in sincerity and unanimity has never been equalled in the world's history. The journey began at six o'clock on the morning of April 21, and lasted until nine o'clock of the morning of May 3: and it might almost be said that during the whole time there was not an hour of the night or day, whether the coffin lay in state in some heavily draped public building or was being whirled across the country, when mourning crowds were not regarding it with wet eyes and bowed heads. Night and darkness in no way lessened the number of the mourners. Thus it was not until eight o'clock on Saturday evening (April 22) that the coffin was placed in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia. The building was at once opened to the public, and through the whole night thousands filed in to look on the dead man's face. It was at one o'clock in the morning, on Monday, that the coffin was carried from Independence Hall to the train, but thousands of men, women, and children stood in the streets while the procession passed, as if it were day. In New York on the following Tuesday, City Hall, where the coffin had been placed in the afternoon, remained open the whole night. The

crowd was even greater than during the day, filling the side streets around the square in every direction. It was more impressive, too, for the men and women who were willing to watch out the night in the flare of torches and gaslights were laborers who could not secure release in daytime. Many of them had come great distances, and hundreds were obliged, after leaving the hall, to find a bed in a doorway, so overfilled was the town. The crowd was at its greatest at midnight, when, as the bells were tolling the hour, a German chorus of some seventy voices commenced suddenly to sing the *Integer vitae*. The thrilling sweetness of the music coming unexpectedly upon the mourners produced an effect never to be forgotten.

Nor did rain make any more difference with the crowd than the darkness. Several times during the journey there arose heavy storms; but the people, in utter indifference, stood in the streets, often uncovered, to see the catafalque and its guard go by or waiting their turn to be admitted to view the coffin.

The great demonstrations were, of course, in the cities where the remains lay in state for a few hours. These demonstrations were perforce much alike. The funeral train was met at the station by the distinguished men of the city and representatives of organizations. The coffin was transferred to a stately hearse, draped in velvet and crape, surmounted by heavy plumes, ornamented in silver, and drawn by six, eight, ten, or more horses. Then, to the tolling of the bells and the regular firing of minute guns, followed by a vast concourse of people, it was carried to the place appointed for the lying in state. Here a

MEMORIAL TEMPLE, HODGENVILLE, KY.

crowd which seemed unending filed by until the time came to close the coffin, when the procession reformed to attend the hearse to the funeral train.

The first of these demonstrations was in Baltimore, the city which a little over four years before it had been thought unsafe for the President to pass through openly, the city in which the first troops called out for the defense of the Union had been mobbed. Now no offering was sufficient to express the feeling of sorrow. All buildings draped in black, all business suspended, the people poured out in a driving rain to follow the catafalque to the Exchange, where for two hours, on April 21, the public was admitted.

As was to be expected, the most elaborate of the series of funeral ceremonies was in New York. There, when the funeral train arrived on Tuesday, April 25, the whole city was swathed in crape, and vast crowds filled the streets. The climax of the obsequies was the procession which, on Wednesday, followed the hearse up Broadway and Fifth Avenue to Thirty-fourth Street and thence to the Hudson River station. For a week this procession had been preparing, until finally it included representatives of almost every organization of every nature in the city and vicinity. The military was represented by detachments from scores of different regiments, and by many distinguished officers of the army and navy, among them General Scott and Admiral Farragut. Companies of the Seventh Regiment were on each side of the funeral car. The city sent its officials—educational, judicial, protective. The foreign consuls marched in full uniform. There were scores of

societies and clubs, including all the organizations of Irish, German, and Hebrews. The whole life of the city was, in fact, represented in the solid column of men which marched that day through the streets of New York in such numbers that it took four hours to pass a single point. Deepest in significance of all the long rank was the rear body in the last division: 200 colored men bearing a banner inscribed with the words, "Abraham Lincoln—Our Emancipator." A platoon of police preceded, another followed the delegation, for the presence of these freedmen would, it was believed by many, cause disorder, and permission for them to march had only been obtained by an appeal to the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton. Several white men walked with them, and at many points sympathizers took pains to applaud. With this single exception, the procession passed through a silent multitude, the only sound the steady tramp of feet and the music of the funeral dirges.

At four o'clock the funeral car reached the station, and the journey was continued toward Albany. But the obsequies in New York did not end then. A meeting was held that night in Union Square, at which George Bancroft delivered an oration that will remain as one of the great expressions of the day upon Lincoln and the ideas for which he worked. It was for this gathering that Bryant wrote his "Ode for the Burial of Abraham Lincoln," beginning:

> "Oh, slow to smite and swift to spare,
> Gentle and merciful and just;
> Who in the fear of God did'st bear
> The sword of power, a Nation's trust."

War Department, Washington, April 20, 1865.

$100,000 REWARD!

THE MURDERER

Of our late beloved President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

IS STILL AT LARGE.

$50,000 REWARD!

will be paid by this Department for his apprehension, in addition to any reward offered by Municipal Authorities or State Executives.

$25,000 REWARD!

will be paid for the apprehension of JOHN H. SURRATT, one of Booth's accomplices.

$25,000 REWARD!

will be paid for the apprehension of DANIEL C. HARROLD another of Booth's accomplices.

LIBERAL REWARDS will be paid for any information that shall conduce to the arrest of either of the above-named criminals, or their accomplices.

All persons harboring or secreting the said persons or either of them, or aiding or assisting their escape, shall be treated as accomplices in the murder of the President and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State, and shall be subject to trial before a Military Commission and the punishment of DEATH.

Let the stain of innocent blood be removed from the land by the arrest and punishment of the murderers.

All good citizens are exhorted to aid public justice on this occasion. Every man should consider his own conscience charged with this solemn duty, and rest neither night nor day until it be accomplished.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

GEO. F. NESBITT & CO., Printers and Bookbinders, cor. Pearl and Pine Streets, N. Y.

FACSIMILE OF BULLETIN OFFERING REWARD FOR LINCOLN'S ASSASSIN.

Imposing, solemn, and sincere as was this series of municipal demonstrations over the bier of Lincoln, there was another feature of the funeral march which showed more vividly the affectionate reverence in which the whole people held the President. This was the outpouring at villages, country cross-roads, and farms to salute, as it passed, the train bearing his remains. From Washington to Springfield the train entered scarcely a town that the bells were not tolling, the minute guns firing, the stations draped, and all the spaces beside the track crowded with people with uncovered heads. At many points arches were erected over the track; at others the bridges were wreathed from end to end in crape and evergreens and flags. And this was not in the towns alone; every farmhouse by which the train passed became for the time a funeral house; the plow was left in the furrow, crape was on the door, the neighbors were gathered, and those who watched from the train as it flew by could see groups of weeping women, of men with uncovered heads, sometimes a minister among them, his arms raised in prayer. Night did not hinder them. Great bonfires were built in lonely countrysides, around which the farmers waited patiently to salute their dead. At the towns the length of the train was lit by blazing torches. Storm as well as darkness was unheeded. Much of the journey was made through the rain, in fact, but the people seemed to have forgotten all things but that Abraham Lincoln, the man they loved and trusted, was passing by for the last time.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, May

1, the funeral train reached Chicago, and here the mourning began to take on a character distinctly different from what had marked it through the East. The people who now met the coffin, who followed it to the court-house, who passed in endless streams by it to look on Lincoln's face, dated their trust in him many years earlier than 1861. Man after man of them had come to pay their last tribute, not to the late President of the United States, but to the genial lawyer, the resourceful, witty political debater who had educated Illinois to believe that a country could not endure half slave and half free, and who, after defeat, had kept her faithful to the "durable struggle" by his counsel. The tears these men shed were the tears of long-time friends and personal followers.

As the train advanced from Chicago toward Springfield the personal and intimate character of the mourning grew. The journey was made at night, but the whole population of the country lined the route. Nearly every one of the towns passed—indeed, one might almost say every one of the farms passed—had been visited personally by Lincoln on legal or political errands, and a vast number of those who thus in the dead of night watched the flying train he had at some time in his life taken by the hand.

It was nine o'clock on the morning of May 3 that the funeral train entered the town where, four years and two months before, Abraham Lincoln had bidden his friends farewell, as he left them to go to Washington. Nearly all of those who on that dreary February morning had listened to his solemn farewell words were present in the May sunshine to receive him.

Their hearts had been heavy as he departed; they were broken now, for he was more than a great leader, an honored martyr, to the men of Springfield. He was their neighbor and friend and helper, and as they bore his coffin to the State House, in the centre of the city, their minds were busy, not with the greatness and honor that had come to him and to them through him, but with the scenes of more than a quarter of a century in which he had always been a conspicuous figure. Every corner of the street suggested that past. Here was the office in which he had first studied law; here, draped in mourning, the one before which his name still hung. Here was the house where he had lived, the church he had attended, the store in which he had been accustomed to tell stories and to discuss politics. His name was written everywhere, even on the walls of the Hall of Representatives in the State House, where they placed his coffin, for here he had spoken again and again.

During the time that the body lay in state—from the noon of May 3 until the noon of May 4—the place Lincoln held in Springfield and the surrounding country was shown as never before. The men and women who came to look on his face were many of them the plain farmers of Sangamon and adjacent counties, and they wept as over the coffin of a father. Their grief at finding him so changed was inconsolable. In the days after leaving Washington the face changed greatly, and by the time Springfield was reached it was black and shrunken almost beyond recognition. To many the last look at their friend was so painful that the remembrance has never left

them. The writer has seen men weep as they recalled the scene, and heard them say repeatedly, "If I had not seen him dead; if I could only remember him alive!"

It was on May 4, fifteen days after the funeral in Washington, that Abraham Lincoln's remains finally rested in Oakland Cemetery, a shaded and beautiful spot, two miles from Springfield. Here, at the foot of a woody knoll, a vault had been prepared; and thither, attended by a great concourse of military and civic dignitaries, by governors of states, members of Congress, officers of the army and navy, delegations from orders, from cities, from churches, by the friends of his youth, his young manhood, his maturer years, was Lincoln carried and laid, by his side his little son. The solemn rite was followed by dirge and prayer, by the reading of his last inaugural address, and by a noble funeral oration by Bishop Simpson. Then, as the beautiful day drew toward evening, the vault was closed, and the great multitudes slowly returned to their duties.

The funeral pageant was at an end, but the mourning was not silenced. From every corner of the earth there came to the family and to the Government tributes to the greatness of the character and life of the murdered man. Medals were cast, tablets engraved, parchments engrossed. At the end of the year, when the State Department came to publish the diplomatic correspondence of 1865, there was a volume of over 700 pages, containing nothing but expressions of condolence and sympathy on Lincoln's death. Nor did the mourning and the honor end

THE CAPTURE OF JOHN WILKES BOOTH, THE ASSASSIN OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Booth was tracked from Washington to a farm near Bowling Green, Virginia, where, on the night A April 25th, eleven days after the assassination, he was found in a barn. He refused to surrender, and e barn was set on fire. While it was burning Booth was shot by one of the pursuing party. He died ree hours later.

there. From the day of his death until now, the world has gone on rearing monuments to Abraham Lincoln.

The first and inevitable result of the emotion which swept over the earth at Lincoln's death was to enroll him among martyrs and heroes. Men forgot that they had despised him, jeered at him, doubted him. They forgot his mistakes, forgot his plodding caution, forgot his homely ways. They saw now, with the vision which an awful and sudden disaster so often gives, the simple, noble outlines on which he had worked. They realized how completely he had sunk every partisan and personal consideration, every non-essential, in the tasks which he had set for himself—to prevent the extension of slavery, to save the Union. They realized how, while they had forgotten everything in disputes over this man, this measure, this event, he had seen only the two great objects of the struggle. They saw how slowly, but surely, he had educated them to feel the vital importance of these objects, had resolved their partisan warfare into a moral struggle. The wisdom of his words, the sincerity of his acts, the steadfastness of his life, were clear to them at last. With this realization came a feeling that he was more than a man. He was a prophet, they said, a man raised up by God for a special work, and they laid then the foundation of the Lincoln myth which still enthralls so many minds.

The real Lincoln, the great Lincoln, is not, however, this prophet and martyr. He is the simple, steady, resolute, unselfish man whose supreme ambition was to find out the truth of the questions which confronted him in life, and whose highest satisfaction

was in following the truth he discovered. His power of getting at the truth of things he had won by incessant mental effort. From his boyhood he would *understand,* though he must walk the floor all night with his problem. His lofty moral courage in the Civil War was the logical result of life-long fidelity to his own conscience. From his boyhood he would keep faith with that which his mind told him was true, though he lost friend and place by it. When he entered public life these qualities at first won him position; but they cost him a position more than once. They sent him to Congress; but, in 1849, they forced him out of public life. They brought him face to face with Douglas from 1854 to 1858 and enabled him to shape the moral sentiment of the Northwest; but later they defeated him. They made him Illinois' candidate for the presidency in 1860; but they brought upon him as President the distrust and hatred of many even in his own party. It took four years of dogged struggle, of constant repetitions of the few truths which he believed to be essential, to teach the people of the United States that they could trust him; it took a murderer's bullet to make them realize the surpassing greatness of his simplicity, his common sense, and his resolution. It is this man who never rested until he had found what he believed to be the right, and, who, having found it, could never be turned from it, who is the Real Lincoln.

APPENDIX

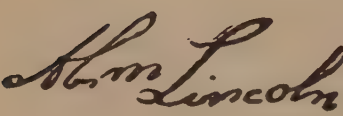
SAMUEL LINCOLN, from deed, 1 December, 1649.

SAMUEL LINCOLN, from deed, 19 July, 1680.

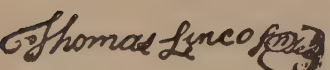
MORDECAI LINCOLN, Sr. from will dated 3 May 1727.

MORDECAI LINCOLN, Jr. from will dated 22 February, 1735–6.

JOHN LINCOLN, from deed dated 7 August, 1773.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, from deed dated 18 February, 1780.



THOMAS LINCOLN, from marriage bond dated 10 June, 1806.

President. From a letter dated December, 1863.

LINCOLN SIGNATURES 1649 TO 1863

APPENDIX

Data on family and life furnished at different times to inquirers by Abraham Lincoln.

The first autobiographical data furnished by Mr. Lincoln was in 1858 at the request of a compiler of a "Dictionary of Congress."

Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.
Education defective.
Profession, a lawyer.
Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk war.
Postmaster at a very small office.
Four times a member of the Illinois legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.

Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

Mr. Lincoln wrote the following sketch in December of 1859, in response to the urging of Jesse W. Fell of Bloomington, Illinois, one of the first of his friends to believe that he was an available candidate for the presidency.

SPRINGFIELD, December 20, 1859.

J. W. FELL, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR:—Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.[1]

I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families

[1] Collection of Mrs. Hester V. Fell, of Normal, Ill.

—second families, perhaps I should say— My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, some others in Macon Counties, Illinois— My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where, a year or two later, he was killed by indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest— His ancestors, who were quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania— An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like—

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up, litterally without education— He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year— We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union— It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods— There I grew up— There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher, beyond "readin, writin, and cipherin" to the Rule of Three— If a straggler supposed to understand latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wizzard— There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education— Of course when I came of age I did not know much— Still somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three; but that was all— I have not been to school since— The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity—

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twentytwo— At twentyone I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Macon County— Then I got to New-Salem at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of Clerk in a store— Then came the Black Hawk war; and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers—a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since— I went the campaign, was elated, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten—the only time I ever have been beaten by the people— The next and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature— I was not a candi-

inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a whig in politics, and generally on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought ~~desirable~~ desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes. No other marks or bands recollected.

Hon J. W. Fell.

Yours very truly
A. Lincoln

Washington, D.C. March 28. 1872

We the undersigned hereby certify that the foregoing statement is in the hand writing of Abraham Lincoln.

David Davis
Lyman Trumbull
Charles Sumner

date afterwards. During this Legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it— In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress— Was not a candidate for re-election— From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before— Always a whig in politics; and generally on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses— I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again— What I have done since then is pretty well known—

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion with coarse black hair, and grey eyes— No others marks or brands recollected—

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Hon. J. W. Fell.

Washington, DC. March 20, 1872

We the undersigned hereby certify that the foregoing statement is in the hand writing of Abraham Lincoln.

David Davis
Lyman Trumbull
Charles Sumner

In June, 1860, Mr. Lincoln gave the following autobiographical memorandum to Thomas Hicks, a portrait painter.

Hicks, Thomas.

[*Autobiographical Memorandum given to the Artist Hicks.*]

I was born February 12, 1809, in then Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now county of La Rue, a mile, or a mile and a half, from where Hodgen's mill now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin Creek.

A. Lincoln.

June 14, 1860.

The longest account of his life that Mr. Lincoln wrote was after his nomination in 1860.

Short Autobiography Written in June, 1860, at the Request of a Friend to Use in Preparing a Popular Campaign Biography

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of La Rue, Kentucky. His father, Thomas, and grandfather, Abraham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this. The family were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people. The grandfather, Abraham, had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John and Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Virginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join; and his descendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years died there, whence his descendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed by Indians about the year 1784. He left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, remained in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to Hancock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still remain. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent information of him or his famliy has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckenridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring-boy and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown he passed one year as a hired hand with his uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he

married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago, leaving no child; also a brother, younger than himself, who died in infancy. Before leaving Kentucky, he and his sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

At this time his father resided on Knob Creek, on the road from Bardstown, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, at a point three or three and a half miles south or southwest of Atherton's Ferry, on the Rolling Fork. From this place he removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky. He settled in an unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Abraham, though very young, was large of his age, and had an ax put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twenty-third year he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons. At this place Abraham took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log cabin, and Abraham, with a rifle gun, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them. He has never since pulled a trigger on any larger game. In the autumn of 1818 his mother died, and a year afterward his father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children of her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to Abraham, and is still living in Coles County, Illinois. There were no children of this second marriage. His father's residence continued at the same place in Indiana till 1830. While here Abraham went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, ——— Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. The family of Mr. Dorsey now resides in Schuyler County, Illinois. Abraham now thinks that

the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student, and never inside of a college or academy building till since he had a law license. What he has in the way of education he has picked up. After he was twenty-three and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar—imperfectly, of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can do to supply the want. In his tenth year he was kicked by a horse, and apparently killed for a time. When he was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, he made his first trip upon a flatboat to New Orleans. He was a hired hand merely, and he and a son of the owner, without other assistance, made the trip. The nature of part of the "cargo-load," as it was called, made it necessary for them to linger and trade along the sugar-coast; and one night thay were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the mêlée, but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable," "weighed anchor," and left.

March 1, 1830, Abraham, having just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-in-law of his stepmother, left the old homestead in Indiana and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by ox-teams, and Abraham drove one of the teams. They reached the county of Macon, and stopped there some time within the same month of March. His father and family settled a new place on the north side of the Sangamon River, at the junction of the timberland and prairie, about ten miles westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though these are far from being the first or only rails ever made by Abraham.

The sons-in-law were temporarily settled in other places in the county. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with ague and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged, so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained, however, through the suc-

ceeding winter, which was the winter of the very celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois. During that winter, Abraham, together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired themselves to Denton Offutt to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans; and for that purpose were to join him—Offutt—at Springfield, Illinois, so soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off, which was about the first of March, 1831, the county was so flooded as to make traveling by land impracticable; to obviate which difficulty they purchased a large canoe, and came down the Sangamon River in it. This is the time and the manner of Abraham's first entrance into Sangamon County. They found Offutt at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This led to their hiring themselves to him for twelve dollars per month each, and getting the timber out of the trees and building a boat at Old Sangamon town on the Sangamon River, seven miles northwest of Springfield, which boat they took to New Orleans, substantially upon the old contract.

During this boat-enterprise acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for Abraham, and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him, on his return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County. Hanks had not gone to New Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be detained from home longer than at first expected, had turned back from St. Louis. He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise" at Decatur, and is a first cousin to Abraham's mother. Abraham's father, with his own family and others mentioned, had, in pursuance of their intention, removed from Macon to Coles County. John D. Johnston, the stepmother's son, went to them, and Abraham stopped indefinitely and for the first time, as it were, by himself at New Salem, before mentioned. This was in July, 1831. Here he rapidly made acquaintances and friends. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing—had almost failed—when the Black Hawk war of 1832 broke out. Abraham joined a volunteer company, and, to his own surprise, was elected captain of it. He says he has not since had any success in life which gave him so much satisfaction. He went to the campaign, served near

three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle. He now owns, in Iowa, the land upon which his own warrants for the service were located. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by his great popularity among his immediate neighbors, he the same year ran for the legislature, and was beaten,—his own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against him—and that, too, while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward giving a majority of 115 to General Jackson over Mr. Clay. This was the only time Abraham was ever beaten on a direct vote of the people. He was now without means and out of business, but was anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him with so much generosity, especially as he had nothing elsewhere to go to. He studied what he should do—thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law—rather thought he could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell, and did sell, to Abraham and another as poor as himself, an old stock of goods, upon credit. They opened as merchants; and he says that was *the* store. Of course they did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt. He was appointed postmaster at New Salem—the office being too insignificant to make his politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered to depute to Abraham that portion of his work which was within his part of the county. He accepted, and procured a compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little, and went at it. This procured bread, and kept soul and body together. The election of 1834 came, and he was then elected to the legislature by the highest vote cast for any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged Abraham [*to*] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the law-books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session. He was reëlected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836, he obtained a law license, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice—his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. March 3, 1837, by a protest entered upon the "Illinois House Journal" of

that date, at pages 817 and 818, Abraham, with Dan Stone, another representative of Sangamon, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now. The protest is as follows:

Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

DAN STONE,
A. LINCOLN,
Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

In 1838 and 1840, Mr. Lincoln's party voted for him as Speaker, but being in the minority he was not elected. After 1840 he declined a reëlection to the legislature. He was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1840, and on that of Clay in 1844, and spent much time and labor in both those canvasses. In November, 1842, he was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. They have three living children, all sons, one born in 1843, one in 1850, and one in 1853. They lost one, who was born in 1846.

In 1846 he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and served one term only, commencing in December, 1847, and ending with the inauguration of General Taylor, in March, 1849. All the battles of the Mexican war had been fought before Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress, but the American army was still in Mexico, and the treaty of peace was not fully and formally ratified till the June afterward. Much has been said of his course in Congress in regard to this war. A careful examination of the "Journal" and "Congressional Globe" shows that he

voted for all the supply measures that came up, and for all the measures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through: with the exception that some of these measures passed without yeas and nays, leaving no record as to how particular men voted. The "Journal" and "Globe" also show him voting that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. This is the language of Mr. Ashmun's amendment, for which Mr. Lincoln and nearly or quite all other Whigs of the House of Representatives voted.

Mr. Lincoln's reasons for the opinion expressed by this vote were briefly that the President had sent General Taylor into an inhabited part of the country belonging to Mexico, and not to the United States, and thereby had provoked the first act of hostility, in fact the commencement of the war; that the place being the country bordering on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was inhabited by native Mexicans, born there under the Mexican government, and had never submitted to, nor been conquered by, Texas or the United States, nor transferred to either by treaty; that although Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, and neither Texas nor the United States had ever enforced it; that there was a broad desert between that and the country over which Texas had actual control; that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. Lincoln thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive for the act was to divert public attention from the surrender of "Fifty-four, forty, or fight" to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary line.

Mr. Lincoln was not a candidate for reëlection. This was determined upon and declared before he went to Washington, in accordance with an understanding among Whig friends, by which Colonel Hardin and Colonel Baker had each previously served a single term in this same district.

In 1848, during his term in Congress, he advocated General Taylor's nomination for the presidency, in opposition to all

others, and also took an active part for his election after his nomination, speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1500 for General Taylor.

Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of the law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois he did less than in previous presidential canvasses.

In 1854 his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before.

In the autumn of that year he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than to secure, if possible, the reëlection of Hon. Richard Yates to Congress. His speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done. As the canvass proceeded he was drawn to different parts of the State outside of Mr. Yates's district. He did not abandon the law, but gave his attention by turns to that and politics. The State agricultural fair was at Springfield that year, and Douglas was announced to speak there.

In the canvass of 1856 Mr. Lincoln made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print. One of them was made at Galena, but Mr. Lincoln has no recollection of any part of it being printed; nor does he remember whether in that speech he said anything about a Supreme Court decision. He may have spoken upon that subject, and some of the newspapers may have reported him as saying what is now ascribed to him; but he thinks he could not have expressed himself as represented.

In addition to the above autobiographical data, Mr. Lincoln wrote a number of letters about himself and his family. He knew little of his Lincoln ancestry and these letters show he was always interested in adding to his information. They are as follows:

LINCOLN, DAVID.

WASHINGTON, March 24, 1848.

MR. DAVID LINCOLN.

DEAR SIR:—Your very worthy representative, Gov. McDowell, has given me your name and address, and as my father was born in Rockingham, from whence his father, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated to Kentucky about the year 1782, I have concluded to address you to ascertain whether we are not of the same family. I shall be much obliged if you will write me, telling me whether you in any way know anything of my grandfather, what relation you are to him, and so on. Also, if you know where your family came from when they settled in Virginia, tracing them back as far as your knowledge extends.

Very respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN, DAVID.

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1848.

DEAR SIR:—Last evening I was much gratified by receiving and reading your letter of the 30th of March. There is no longer any doubt that your uncle Abraham and my grandfather was the same man. His family did reside in Washington County, Kentucky, just as you say you found them in 1801 or 1802. The oldest son, Uncle Mordecai, near twenty years ago removed from Kentucky to Hancock County, Illinois, where within a year or two afterward he died, and where his surviving children now live. His two sons there now are Abraham and Mordecai; and their post-office is "La Harpe." Uncle Josiah, farther back than my recollection, went from Kentucky to Blue River in Indiana. I have not heard from him in a great many years, and whether he is still living I cannot say. My recollection of what I have heard is that he has several daughters and only one son, Thomas—their post-office is "Coryden, Harrison County, Indiana." My father, Thomas, is still living, in Coles County, Illinois, being in the seventy-first year of his age—his post-office is "Charleston, Coles County, Illinois"—I am his only child. I am now in my fortieth year; and I live in Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois. This is the outline of my grandfather's family in the West.

I think my father has told me that grandfather had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. Is that correct? And which of them was your father? Are any of them alive?

I am quite sure that Isaac resided on Watauga, near a point where Virginia and Tennessee join; and that he has been dead more than twenty, perhaps thirty, years; also that Thomas removed to Kentucky, near Lexington, where he died a good while ago.

What was your Grandfather's Christian name? Was he not a Quaker? About what time did he emigrate from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to Virginia? Do you know anything of your family (or rather I may now say our family), farther back than your grandfather?

If it be not too much trouble to you, I shall be much pleased to hear from you again. Be assured I will call on you, should anything ever bring me near you. I shall give your respects to Governor McDowell as you desire.

Very truly yours, A. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN, JESSE.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, April 1, 1854.

MR. JESSE LINCOLN.

MY DEAR SIR:—On yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16th of March. From what you say there can be no doubt that you and I are of the same family. The history of your family, as you give it, is precisely what I have always heard, and partly know, of my own. As you have supposed, I am the grandson of your uncle Abraham; and the story of his death by the Indians, and of uncle Mordecai, then fourteen years old, killing one of the Indians, is the legend more strongly than all others imprinted upon my mind and memory. I am the son of grandfather's youngest son, Thomas. I have often heard my father speak of his uncle Isaac residing at Watauga (I think), near where the then States of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join—you seem now to be some hundred miles or so west of that. I often saw Uncle Mordecai, and Uncle Josiah but once in my life; but I never resided near either of them. Uncle Mordecai died in 1831 or 2, in Hancock County, Illinois, where he had then recently removed from Kentucky, and where his children had also removed, and still reside, as I understand. Whether Uncle Josiah is dead or living, I cannot tell, not having heard from him for more than twenty years. When I last heard of him he was living on Big Blue River, in Indiana (Harrison Co., I think), and where he had resided ever since before the

beginning of my recollection. My father (Thomas) died the 17th of January, 1851, in Coles County, Illinois, where he had resided twenty years. I am his only child. I have resided here, and hereabouts, twenty-three years. I am forty-five years of age, and have a wife and three children, the oldest eleven years. My wife was born and raised at Lexington, Kentucky; and my connection with her has sometimes taken me there, where I have heard the older people of her relations speak of your uncle Thomas and his family. He is dead long ago, and his descendants have gone to some part of Missouri, as I recollcet what I was told. When I was at Washington in 1848, I got up a correspondence with David Lincoln, residing at Sparta, Rockingham County, Virginia, who, like yourself, was a first cousin of my father; but I forget, if he informed me, which of my grandfather's brothers was his father. With Col. Crozier, of whom you speak, I formed quite an intimate acquaintance, for a short one, while at Washington; and when you meet him again I will thank you to present him my respects. Your present governor, Andrew Johnson, was also at Washington while I was; and he told me of there being people of the name of Lincoln in Carter County, I think. I can no longer claim to be a young man myself; but I infer that, as you are of the same generation as my father, you are some older. I shall be very glad to hear from you again.

Very truly your relative, A. Lincoln.

Haycraft, Samuel.

Springfield, Illinois, May 28, 1860.

Dear Sir:—Your recent letter, without date, is received. Also the copy of your speech on the contemplated Daniel Boone Monument, which I have not yet had time to read. In the main you are right about my history. My father was Thomas Lincoln, and Mrs. Sally Johnston was his second wife. You are mistaken about my mother. Her maiden name was Nancy Hanks. I was not born at Elizabethtown, but my mother's first child, a daughter, two years older than myself, and now long since deceased, was. I was born February 12, 1809, near where Hogginsville (Hogdenville) now is, then in Hardin County. I do not think I ever saw you, though I very well know who you are—so well that I recognized your handwriting, on opening your letter, before I saw the signature. My recollection is that

Ben Helm was first clerk, that you succeeded him, that Jack Thomas and William Farleigh graduated in the same office, and that your handwritings were all very similar. Am I right?

My father has been dead near ten years; but my step-mother (Mrs. Johnston) is still living.

I am really very glad of your letter, and shall be pleased to receive another at any time.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

[*Private*]

HAYCRAFT, SAMUEL.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, June 4, 1860.

DEAR SIR:—Your second letter, dated May 31st, is received. You suggest that a visit to the place of my nativity might be pleasant to me. Indeed it would. But would it be safe? Would not the people lynch me?

The place on Knob Creek, mentioned by Mr. Read, I remember very well; but I was not born there. As my parents have told me, I was born on Nolin, very much nearer Hodgens Mill than the Knob Creek place is. My earliest recollection, however, is of the Knob Creek place. Like you, I belonged to the Whig Party from its origin to its close. I never belonged to the American Party organization; nor ever to a party called a Union Party, though I hope I neither am nor ever have been, less devoted to the Union than yourself or any other patriotic man.

It may not be altogether without interest to let you know that my wife is a daughter of the late Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Ky., and that a half-sister of hers is the wife of Ben Hardin Helm, born and raised at your town, but residing at Louisville now, as I believe.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

CHRISMAN, JOHN.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, September 21, 1860.

JOHN CHRISMAN, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 13th was duly received. I have no doubt that you and I are related. My grandfather's Christian name was "Abraham." He had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. They were born in Pennsylvania, and my grandfather, and some, if not all, the others, in early life re-

moved to Rockingham County, Virginia. There my father—named Thomas—was born. From there my grandfather removed to Kentucky, and was killed by the Indians about the year 1784. His brother Thomas, who was my father's uncle, also removed to Kentucky—to Fayette County, I think—where, as I understand, he lived and died. I close by repeating I have no doubt you and I are related.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

The following autobiographical material is found in two letters written in 1846 to William Johnston:

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM.

TREMONT, April 18, 1846.

FRIEND JOHNSTON:— . . . In the fall of 1844, thinking I might aid some to carry the State of Indiana for Mr. Clay, I went into the neighborhood in that State in which I was raised, where my mother and only sister were buried, and from which I had been absent about fifteen years. That part of the country is, within itself, as unpoetical as any spot of the earth; but still, seeing it and its objects and inhabitants aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry; though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question. When I got to writing, the change of subject divided the thing into four little divisions or cantos, the first only of which I send you now, and may send the others hereafter.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

My childhood's home I see again,
And sadden with the view;
And still, as memory crowds my brain,
There's pleasure in it too.

O Memory! thou midway world
'Twixt earth and paradise,
Where things decayed and loved ones lost
In dreamy shadows rise,

And, freed from all that's earthly vile,
Seem hallowed, pure, and bright,
Like scenes in some enchanted isle
All bathed in liquid light

As dusky mountains please the eye
When twilight chases day;
As bugle-notes that, passing by,
In distance die away;

As leaving some grand waterfall,
We, lingering, list its roar—
So memory will hallow all
We've known, but know no more.

Near twenty years have passed away
Since here I bid farewell
To woods and fields, and scenes of play,
And playmates loved so well.

Where many were, but few remain
Of old familiar things;
But seeing them, to mind again
The lost and absent brings.

The friends I left that parting day,
How changed, as time has sped!
Young childhood grown, strong manhood gray,
And half of all are dead.

I hear the loved survivors tell
How nought from death could save,
Till every sound appears a knell,
And every spot a grave.

I range the fields with pensive tread,
And pace the hollow rooms,
And feel (companion of the dead)
I'm living in the tombs.

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM.

SPRINGFIELD, September 6, 1846.

FRIEND JOHNSTON:—You remember when I wrote you from Tremont last spring, sending you a little canto of what I called poetry, I promised to bore you with another some time. I now fulfill the promise. The subject of the present one is an insane man; his name is Matthew Gentry. He is three years older than I, and when we were boys we went to school together. He was rather a bright lad, and the son of *the* rich man of a very poor neighborhood. At the age of nineteen he unaccountably became furiously mad, from which condition he gradually settled down into harmless insanity. When, as I told you in my other letter, I visited my old home in the fall of 1844, I found him still lingering in this wretched condition. In my poetizing mood, I could not forget the impression his case made upon me. Here is the result:

But here's an object more of dread
  Than aught the grave contains—
A human form with reason fled,
  While wretched life remains.

When terror spread, and neighbors ran
  Your dangerous strength to bind,
And soon, a howling, crazy man,
  Your limbs were fast confined:

How then you strove and shrieked aloud,
  Your bones and sinews bared;
And fiendish on the gazing crowd
  With burning eyeballs glared;

And begged and swore, and wept and prayed
  With maniac laughter joined;
How fearful were these signs displayed
  By pangs that killed the mind!

And when at length the drear and long
  Time soothed thy fiercer woes,
How plaintively thy mournful song
  Upon the still night rose!

I've heard it oft as if I dreamed,
  Far distant, sweet and lone,
The funeral dirge it ever seemed
  Of reason dead and gone

To drink its strains I've stole away,
  All stealthily and still,
Ere yet the rising god of day
  Had streaked the eastern hill.

Air held her breath; trees with the spell
  Seemed sorrowing angels round,
Whose swelling tears in dewdrops fell
  Upon the listen ground.

But this is past, and naught remains
  That raised thee o'er the brute;
Thy piercing shrieks and soothing strain
  Are like, forever mute.

Now fare thee well! More thou the cause
  Than subject now of woe.
All mental pangs by time's kind laws
  Hast lost the power to know.

O death! thou awe-inspiring prince
  That keepst the world in fear,
Why dost thou tear more blest ones hence
  And leave him lingering here?

If I should ever send another, the subject will be a "Bear-Hunt."

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ills. April 6. 1860

Rich.d W.m Lincoln, Esq

My dear Sir

Owing to absence from home, yours of March 19th was not received till yesterday— You are a little mistaken— My grand. father died not go from Berks co. Pa; but, as I learn, his ancestors died, some time before his birth— He was born in Rockingham co Va; went from there to Kentucky, and there was killed by indians about 1784— That the family originally came from Berks, I learned a dozen years ago, by letter, from one of them, then residing at Sparta, Rockingham co. Va. His name was David Lincoln— I remember, long ago, seeing Austin Lincoln, & Davis Lincoln, said to be sons of Hannaniah, or Annaniah Lincoln, who was said to have been a cousin of my

grandfather— I have no doubt you and I are distantly related— I should think from what you say, that you and my father were second cousins—

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time— Yours very truly

A. Lincoln

The following letters, telegrams and speeches of Abraham Lincoln were discovered by the author in preparing this Life of Lincoln.

As none of these documents appeared in Lincoln's "Complete Works," edited by Nicolay and Hay, at the time the books were first published or in any other collection of his writings they are printed in this Appendix for the use of students. In every case they were submitted to the owners of the originals for proof reading.

NEW SALEM, Aug. 10, 1833.

E. C. BLANKENSHIP:

DEAR SIR:—In regard to the time David Rankin served the enclosed discharge shows correctly—as well as I can recollect—having no writing to refer. The transfer of Rankin from my company occurred as follows—Rankin having lost his horse at Dixon's ferry and having acquaintance in one of the foot companies who were going down the river was desirous to go with them, and one Galishen being an acquaintance of mine and belonging to the company in which Rankin wished to go wished to leave it and join mine, this being the case it was agreed that

they should exchange places and answer to each other's names —as it was expected we all *would* be discharged in *very* few days. As to a blanket—I have no knowledge of Rankin ever getting any. The above embraces all the facts now in my recollection which are pertinent to the case.

I shall take pleasure in giving any further information in my power should you call on me.

Your friend, A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by DeWitt C. Sprague, Washington, D.C.)

MR. SPEARS:

At your request I send you a receipt for the postage on your paper. I am somewhat surprised at your request. I will, however, comply with it. The law requires Newspaper postage to be paid in advance, and now that I have waited a full year you choose to wound my feelings by insinuating that unless you get a receipt I will probably make you pay it again—

Respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

Received of George Spears in full for postage on the "Sangamon Journal" up to the first of July, 1834.

A. LINCOLN, P. M.

(From fac-simile of letter printed in Menard-Salem-Lincoln Souvenir Album. Petersburg, 1893.)

REPORT OF ROAD SURVEY, written by Abraham Lincoln.

To the County Commissioner's Court for the County of Sangamon:—

We, the undersigned, being appointed to view and relocate a part of the road between Sangamon town and the town of Athens respectfully report that we have performed the duty of said appointment according to law—and that we have made the said relocation on good ground—and believe the same to be necessary and proper.

JAMES STROWBRIDGE,
LEVI CANTRALL,
A. LINCOLN.

Athens, Nov. 4, 1834.

Herewith is the map—The court may allow me the following charges if they think proper—

1 day's labour as surveyor	$3.00
Making map	.50
	$3.50

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in office of county clerk, Springfield, Ill.)

John Bennett, Esq.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 5, 1837.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Edwards tells me you wish to know whether the act to which your town incorporation provision was attached passed into a law. It did. You can organize under the general incorporation law as soon as you choose. I also tacked a provision on to a fellow's bill to authorize the re-location of the road from Salem down to your town, but I am not certain whether or not the bill passed, neither do I suppose I can ascertain before the law will be published, if it is a law. Bowling Greene, Bennett Abell, and yourself are appointed to make the change.

No news. No excitement except a little about the election of Monday next. I suppose of course our friend, Dr. Henry, stands no chance in your "diggings."

Your friend and humble servant,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by E. R. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Illinois.)

TO THE PEOPLE

"SANGAMO JOURNAL," SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 19, 1837

In accordance with our determination, as expressed last week, we present to the reader the articles which were published in hand-bill form, in reference to the case of the heirs of Joseph Anderson *vs.* James Adams. These articles can now be read, uninfluenced by personal or party feeling, and with the sole motive of learning the truth. When that is done, the reader can pass his own judgment on the matters at issue.

We only regret in this case, that the publications were not

made some weeks before the election. Such a course might have prevented the expressions of regret, which have often been heard since, from different individuals, on account of the disposition they made of their votes.

TO THE PUBLIC

It is well known to most of you, that there is existing at this time, considerable excitement in regard to Gen. Adams's titles to certain tracts of land, and the manner in which he acquired them. As I understand, the Gen. charges that the whole has been gotten up by a knot of lawyers to injure his election; and as I am one of the knot to which he refers—and as I happen to be in possession of facts connected with the matter, I will, in as brief a manner as possible, make a statement of them, together with the means by which I arrived at the knowledge of them.

Sometime in May or June last, a widow woman, by the name of Anderson, and her son, who resides in Fulton county, came to Springfield, for the purpose, as they said, of selling a ten acre lot of ground lying near town, which they claimed as the property of the deceased husband and father.

When they reached town they found the land was claimed by Gen. Adams. John T. Stuart and myself were employed to look into the matter, and if it was thought we could do so with any prospect of success, to commence a suit for the land. I went immediately to the recorder's office to examine Adams's title, and found that the land had been entered by one Dixon, deeded by Dixon to Thomas, by Thomas to one Miller, and by Miller to Gen. Adams.—The oldest of these three deeds was about ten or eleven years old, and the latest more than five, all recorded at the same time, and that within less than one year. This I thought a suspicious circumstance, and I was thereby induced to examine the deeds very closely, with a view to the discovery of some defect by which to overturn the title, being almost convinced then it was founded in fraud. I finally discovered that in the deed from Thomas to Miller, although Miller's name stood in a sort of marginal note on the record book, it was nowhere in the deed itself. I told the fact to Talbott, the recorder, and proposed to him that he should go to Gen. Adams's and get the original deed, and compare it with the record, and thereby ascertain whether the defect was in the original, or there was merely

an error in the recording. As Talbott afterwards told me, he went to the General's, but not finding him at home, got the deed from his son, which, when compared with the record, proved what we had discovered was merely an error of the recorder. After Mr. Talbott corrected the record, he brought the original to our office, as I then thought and think yet, to show us that it was right. When he came into the room he handed the deed to me, remarking that the fault was all his own. On opening it, another paper fell out of it, which on examination, proved to be an assignment of a judgment in the Circuit Court of Sangamon County from Joseph Anderson, the late husband of the widow above named, to James Adams, the judgment being in favor of said Anderson against one Joseph Miller. Knowing that this judgment had some connection with the land affair, I immediately took a copy of it, which is word for word, letter for letter and cross for cross as follows:

"Joseph Anderson,
vs.
Joseph Miller.

Judgment in Sangamon Circuit Court against Joseph Miller obtained on a note originally 25 dolls and interest thereon accrued.

I assign all my right, title and interest to James Adams which is in consideration of a debt I owe said Adams.

May 10th, 1827.

his
JOSEPH X ANDERSON.
mark."

As the copy shows, it bore date May 10, 1827; although the judgment assigned by it was not obtained until the October afterwards, as may be seen by any one on the records of the Circuit Court. Two other strange circumstances attended it which cannot be represented by a copy. One of them was, that the date "1827" had first been made "1837" and without the figure "3" being fully obliterated, the figure "2" had afterwards been made on top of it; the other was that, although the date was ten years old, the writing on it, from the freshness of its appearance, was thought by many, and I believe by all who saw it, not to be more than a week old. The paper on which it was written had a very

old appearance; and there were some old figures on the back of it which made the freshness of the writing on the face of it, much more striking than I suppose it otherwise might have been. The reader's curiosity is no doubt excited to know what connection this assignment had with the land in question. The story is this: Dixon sold and deeded the land to Thomas:—Thomas sold it to Anderson; but before he gave a deed, Anderson sold it to Miller, and took Miller's note for the purchase money.—When this note became due, Anderson sued Miller on it, and Miller procured an injunction from the Court of Chancery to stay the collection of the money until he should get a deed for the land. Gen. Adams was employed as an attorney by Anderson in this chancery suit, and at the October term, 1827, the injunction was dissolved, and a judgment given in favor of Anderson against Miller; and it was provided that Thomas was to execute a deed for the land in favor of Miller, and deliver it to Gen. Adams, to be held up by him till Miller paid the judgment, and then to deliver it to him. Miller left the county without paying the judgment. Anderson moved to Fulton county, where he has since died. When the widow came to Springfield last May or June, as before mentioned, and found the land deeded to Gen. Adams by Miller, she was naturally led to enquire why the money due upon the judgment had not been sent to them, inasmuch as he, Gen. Adams, had no authority to deliver Thomas's deed to Miller until the money was paid. Then it was the General told her, or perhaps her son, who came with her, that Anderson, in his lifetime, *had assigned the judgment to him,* Gen. Adams. I am now told that the General is exhibiting an assignment of the same judgment bearing date "1828;" and in other respects differing from the one described; and that he is asserting that no such assignment as the one copied by me ever existed; or if there did, it was forged between Talbott and the lawyers, and slipped into his papers for the purpose of injuring him. Now, I can only say that I know precisely such a one did exist, and that Ben. Talbott, Wm. Butler, C. R. Matheny, John T. Stuart, Judge Logan, Robert Irwin, P. C. Canedy and S. M. Tinsley, all saw and examined it, and that at least one half of them will swear that *IT WAS IN GENERAL ADAMS'S HANDWRITING!!* And further, I know that Talbott will swear that he got it out of the General's possession, and returned it into his possession again. The assignment which the General is now exhibiting

purports to have been by Anderson in writing. The one I copied was signed with a cross.

I am told that Gen. Neale says that he will swear, that he heard Gen. Adams tell young Anderson that the assignment made by his father was signed with a cross.

The above are facts, as stated. I leave them without comment. I have given the names of persons who have knowledge of these facts, in order that any one who chooses may call on them and ascertain how far they will corroborate my statements. I have only made these statements because I am known by many to be one of the individuals against whom the charge of forging the assignment and slipping it into the General's papers, has been made; and because our silence might be construed into a confession of its truth. I shall not subscribe my name; but I hereby authorize the eitor of the 'Journal' to give it up to any one that may call for it."

"It having been stated this morning that the subscriber had refused to give the name of the author of the hand-bill above referred to (which statement is not true): to save any farther remarks on this subject, I now state that A. Lincoln, Esq., is the author of the hand-bill in question. SIMEON FRANCIS.

"August 7, 1837."

Messrs. Lincoln and Talbott in reply to Gen. Adams.

"SANGAMO JOURNAL," SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sept. 9, 1837.

In the "Republican" of this morning a publication of Gen. Adams's appears, in which my name is used quite unreservedly. For this I thank the General. I thank him because it gives me an opportunity, without appearing obtrusive, of explaining a part of a former publication of mine, which appears to me to have been misunderstood by many.

In the former publication alluded to, I stated, in substance, that Mr. Talbott got a deed from a son of Gen. Adams's for the purpose of correcting a mistake that had occurred on the record of the said deed in the recorder's office—that he corrected the record, and brought the deed and handed it to me—and that, on opening the deed, another paper, being the assignment of a judgment, *fell out* of it. This statement Gen. Adams and the editor

of the "Republican," have seized upon as a most palpable evidence of fabrication and falsehood. They set themselves gravely about proving that the assignment could not have been in the deed when Talbott got it from young Adams, as he, Talbott, would have seen it when he opened the deed to correct the record. Now, the truth is, Talbott *did* see the assignment when he opened the deed, or at least he told me he did on the same day; and I only omitted to say so in my former publication, because it was a matter of such palpable and necessary inference. I had stated that Talbott had corrected the record by the deed; and of course he must have opened it; and, just as the General and his friends argue, must have seen the assignment. I omitted to state the fact of Talbott's seeing the assignment, because its existence was so necessarily connected with other facts which I did state, that I thought the greatest dunce could not but understand it. Did I say Talbott had not seen it? Did I say *anything* that was *inconsistent* with his having seen it before? Most certainly I did neither; and if I did not, what becomes of the argument? These logical gentlemen cannot sustain their argument only by assuming that I *did say negatively* everything that I *did not* say affirmatively; and upon the same assumption, we may expect to find the General, if a little harder pressed for argument, saying that I said Talbott came to our office with his head downward, not that I actually said so, but because I omitted to say he came feet downward.

In his publication to-day, the General produces the affidavit of Reuben Radford, in which it is said that Talbott told Radford that he did not find the assignment in the deed, in the recording of which the error was omitted, but that he found it wrapped in another paper in the recorder's office, upon which statement the Genl. comments, as follows, to-wit:—"If it be true as stated by Talbott to Radford, that he found the assignment wrapped up in another paper at his office, that contradicts the statement of Lincoln that it fell out of the deed."

Is common sense to be abused with such sophistry? Did I say what Talbott found in it? If Talbott *did* find it in another paper at *his* office, is that any reason why he could not have folded it in a deed and brought it to *my* office, can any one be so far duped as to be made believe that what may have happened at *Talbott's* office at one time, is inconsistent with what happened at *my* office at another time?

Now Talbott's statement of the case as he makes it to me is this, that he got a bunch of deeds from young Adams, and that he knows he found the assignment in the bunch, but he is not certain which particular deed it was in, nor is he certain whether it was folded in the same deed out of which it was took, or another one, when it was brought to my office. Is this a mysterious story? Is there anything suspicious about it?

"But it is useless to dwell longer on this point. Any man who is not wilfully blind can see at a blush, that there is no discrepancy and Lincoln has shown that they are not only inconsistent with truth, but each other"—I can only say, that I have shown that he has done no such thing; and if the reader is disposed to require any other evidence than the General's assertion, he will be of my opinion.

Excepting the General's most flimsy attempt at mystification, in regard to a discrepance between Talbott and myself, he has not denied a single statement that I made in my hand-bill. Every material statement that I made has been sworn to by men who, in former times, were thought as respectable as General Adams. I stated that an assignment of a judgment, a copy of which I gave, had existed—Benj. Talbott, C. R. Matheny, Wm. Butler, and Judge Logan, swore to its existence, I stated that it was said to be in Gen. Adams's handwriting—the same men swore it was in his handwriting. I stated that Talbott would swear that he got it out of Gen. Adam's possession—Talbott came forward and did swear it.

Bidding adieu to the former publication, I now propose to examine the General's last gigantic production. I now propose to point out some discrepancies in the General's address; and such too, as he shall not be able to escape from. Speaking of the famous assignment, the General says, "This last charge, which was their last resort, their dying effort to render my character infamous among my fellow citizens, was manufactured at a certain lawyer's office in the town, printed at the office of the 'Sangamon Journal,' and found its way into the world some time between two days *just before the last election.*" Now turn to Mr. Keys's affidavit in which you will find the following, (viz.) "I certify that some time in May or the early part of June, 1837, I saw at Williams's corner, a paper purporting to be an assignment from Joseph Anderson to James Adams, which assignment, was signed by a mark to Anderson's name," etc. Now mark, if

Keys saw the assignment on the last of May or first of June, Gen. Adams tells a falsehood when he says it was *manufactured just before the election,* which was on the 7th of August; and if it was manufactured just before the election, Keys tells a falsehood when he says he saw it on the last of May or first of June. Either Keys or the General is irretrievably in for it; and in the General's very condescending language, I say "let them settle it between them."

Now again, let the reader, bearing in mind that General Adams has unequivocally said, in one part of his address, that the charge in relation to the assignment was *manufactured just before the election;* turn to the affidavit of Peter S. Weber, where the following will be found, (viz.) "I, Peter S. Weber, do certify that from the best of my recollection, on the day or day after Gen. Adams started for the Illinois Rapids, in May last, that I was at the house of Gen. Adams, sitting in the kitchen, situated on the back part of the house, it being in the afternoon, and that Benjamin Talbott came around the house, back into the kitchen, and appeared wild and confused, and that he laid a package of papers on the kitchen table and requested that they should be handed to Lucian. He made no apology for coming to the kitchen, nor for not handing them to Lucian himself, but showed the token of being frightened and confused both in demeanor and speech and for what cause I could not apprehend."

Commenting on Weber's affidavit, Gen. Adams asks, "Why this fright and confusion?" I reply that this is a question for the General himself. Weber says that it was in May, and if so, it is most clear, that Talbott was not frightened on account of the assignment, unless the General lies when he says the assignment was manufactured *just before the election.* Is it not a strong evidence, that the General is not traveling with the pole-star of truth in his front, to see him in one part of his address roundly asserting that the assignment was manufactured *just before the election,* and then, forgetting that position, procuring Weber's most foolish affidavit, to prove that Talbott had been engaged in manufacturing it *two months before?*

In another part of his address, Gen. Adams says, "That I hold an assignment of said judgment, dated the 20th of May, 1828, and signed by said Anderson, I have never pretended to deny or conceal, but stated that fact in one of my circulars previous to the election, and also in answer *to a bill in chancery.*" Now I

pronounce this statement unqualifiedly false, and shall not rely on the word or oath of any man to sustain me in what I say; but will let the whole be decided by reference to the circular and answer in chancery of which the General speaks. In his circular he did speak of an assignment; but he *did not* say it bore date 20th of May, 1828; nor did he say it bore any date. In his answer in chancery, he did say that he had an assignment; but he *did not* say that it bore date the 20th May, 1828; but so far from it, he said on oath (for he swore to the answer) that as well as recollected, he obtained it in 1827. If any one doubts, let him examine the circular and answer for himself. They are both accessible.

It will readily be observed that the principal part of Adams's defense, rests upon the argument, that if he had been base enough to forge an assignment, he would not have been *fool enough* to forge one that would not cover the case. This argument he used in his circular before the election. The "Republican" has used it at least once, since then; and Adams uses it again in his publication of to-day. Now I pledge myself to show that he is just such a *fool,* that he and his friends have contended it was impossible for him to be. Recollect—he says he has a genuine assignment; and that he got Joseph Klein's affidavit, stating that he had seen it, and that he believed the signature to have been executed by the same hand that signed Anderson's name to the answer in Chancery. Luckily Klein took a copy of this *genuine* assignment, which I have been permitted to see; and hence I know *it does not cover the case.* In the first place it is headed "Joseph Anderson vs. Joseph Miller," and heads off "Judgment in Sangamon Circuit Court." Now, mark, there never was a case in Sangamon Circuit Court entitled Joseph Anderson vs. Joseph Miller. The case mentioned in my former publication, and the only one between these parties that ever existed in the Circuit Court, was entitled Joseph Miller vs. Joseph Anderson, Miller being the plaintiff. What then becomes of all their sophistry about Adams not being *fool enough* to forge an assignment that would not cover the case? It is certain that the present one does not cover the case; and if he got it honestly, it is still clear that he *was fool enough* to pay for an assignment that does not cover the case.

The General asks for the proof of disinterested witnesses. Who does he consider disinterested? None can be more so than

those who have already testified against him. No one of them had the least interest on earth, so far as I can learn, to injure him. True, he says they had conspired against him; but if the testimony of an angel from Heaven were introduced against him, he would make the same charge of conspiracy. And now I put the question to every reflecting man, do you believe that Benjamin Talbott, Chas. R. Matheny, William Butler and Stephen T. Logan, all sustaining high and spotless characters, and justly proud of them, would deliberately perjure themselves, without any motive whatever, except to injure a man's election; and that, too, a man who had been a candidate, time out of mind, and yet who had never been elected to any office?

Adams's assurance, in demanding disinterested testimony, is surpassing. He brings in the affidavit of his own son, and even of Peter S. Weber, with whom I am not acquainted, but who, I suppose, is some black or mulatto boy, from his being kept in the kitchen, to prove his points; but when such a man as Talbott, a man who, but two years ago, run against Gen. Adams for the office of Recorder and beat him more than four votes to one, is introduced against him, he asks the community, with all the consequence of a Lord, to reject his testimony.

I might easily write a volume, pointing out inconsistencies between the statements in Adams's last address with one another, and with other known facts; but I am aware the reader must already be tired with the length of this article, his opening statements, that he was first accused of being a tory, and that he refuted that; that then the Sampson's ghost story was got up, and he refuted that; that as a last resort, a dying effort, the assignment charge was got up is all as false as hell, as all this community must know. Sampson's ghost first made it appearance in print, and that too, after Keys swears he saw the assignment, as any one may see by reference to the files of papers; and Gen. Adams himself, in reply to the Sampson's ghost story, was the *first man* that raised the cry of *toryism* and it was only by way of set off, and never in seriousness that it was handed back at him. His effort is to make the impression that his enemies first made the charge of toryism and he drove them from that, then Sampson's ghost, he drove them from that, then finally the assignment charge was manufactured *just before the election.* Now, the only general reply he ever made to the Sampson's ghost and tory charges, he made *at one and the same time,* and not in succession

as he states; and the date of that reply will show, that it was made at least a month *after* the date on which Keys swears he saw the Anderson assignment. But enough. In conclusion I will only say that I have a character to defend as well as Gen. Adams, but I disdain to *whine* about it as he does. It is true I have no children nor *kitchen boys;* and if I had, I should scorn to lug them in to make affidavits for me.

September 6, 1837. A. LINCOLN.

TO THE PUBLIC

SANGAMO JOURNAL, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Oct. 28, 1837.

Such is the turn which things have lately taken, that when Gen. Adams writes a book, I am expected to write a commentary on it. In the "Republican" of this morning he has presented the world with a new work of six columns in length: in consequence of which I must beg the room of one column in the "Journal." It is obvious that a minute reply cannot be made in one column to everything that can be said in six; and, consequently, I hope that expectation will be answered, if I reply to such parts of the General's publication as are worth replying to.

It may not be improper to remind the reader that in his publication of Sept. 6th General Adams said that the assignment charge was manufactured *just before the election;* and that in reply I proved that statement to be false by Keys, his own witness. Now, without attempting to explain, he furnishes me with another witness (Tinsley) by which the same thing is proved, to wit, that the assignment *was not* manufactured *just before the election;* but that it was *some weeks* before. Let it be borne in mind that Adams made this statement—has himself furnished two witnesses to prove its falsehood, and does not attempt to deny or explain it. Before going farther, let a pin be stuck here, labeled "one lie proved and confessed." On the 6th of September he said he had before stated in the hand bill that he held an assignment dated May 20th, 1828, which in reply I pronounced to be false, and referred to the hand bill for the truth of what I said. This week he forgets to make any explanation of this. Let another pin be stuck here, labeled as before. I mention these things, because, if, when I convict him in one falsehood,

he is permitted to shift his ground and pass it by in silence, there can be no end to this controversy.

The first thing that attracts my attention in the General's present production, is the information he is pleased to give to "Those who are made to suffer at his (my) *hands.*"

Under present circumstances, this cannot apply to me, for I am not a *widow* nor an *orphan*: nor have I a wife or children who might by possibility become such. Such, however, I have no doubt, have been, and will again be made to suffer at his *hands!! Hands!* Yes, they are the mischievous agents.—The next thing I shall notice is his favorite expression, "not of lawyers, doctors and others," which he is so fond of applying to all who dare expose his rascality. Now, let it be remembered that when he first came to this country he attempted to impose himself upon the community as a *lawyer,* and actually carried the attempt so far as to induce a man who was under a charge of murder to entrust the defense of his life in his hands, and finally took his money and got him hanged. Is this the man that is to raise a breeze in his favor by abusing lawyers? If he is not himself a lawyer, it is for the lack of sense, and not of inclination. If he is not a lawyer, he *is* a liar for he proclaimed himself a lawyer, and got a man hanged by depending on him.

Passing over such parts of the article as have neither fact nor argument in them, I come to the question asked by Adams whether any person ever saw the assignment in his possession. This is an insult to common sense. Talbott has worn once and repeated time and again, that he got it *out* of Adams's possession and returned it into the same possession. Still, as though he was addressing fools, he has assurance to ask if any person ever saw it in his possession.— Next I quote a sentence, "Now my son Lucian swears that when Talbott called for the deed, that he, Talbott, opened it and *pointed out the error.*" True. His son Lucian did swear as he says; and in doing so, he swore what I will prove by his own affidavit to be a falsehood. Turn to Lucian's affidavit, and you will there see that Talbott called for the deed by which to correct an error on the *record.* Thus it appears that the error in question was on the *record* and not in the *deed.* How then could Talbott open the deed and point out the *error?* Where a thing *is not,* it cannot be pointed out. The error *was not* in the *deed,* and of course could not be pointed out there. This does not merely prove that the error could not be

pointed out, as Lucian swore it was; but it proves, too, that the deed was not opened in his presence with a special view to the error, for if it had been, he could not have failed to see that there was no error in it. It is easy enough to see why Lucian swore this. His object was to prove that the assignment *was not* in the deed, when Talbott got it: but it was discovered he could not swear this safely, without first swearing the deed was *opened* —and if he swore it was *opened,* he must show a *motive* for opening it, and the conclusion with him and his father was, that the pointing out the error, would appear the most plausible.

For the purpose of showing that the assignment was not in the bundle when Talbott got it, is the story introduced into Lucian's affidavit that the deeds were counted. It is a remarkable fact, and one that should stand as a warning to all liars and fabricators, that in this short affidavit of Lucian's, he only attempted to depart from the truth, so far as I have the means of knowing, in two points, to-wit, in *the opening the deed and pointing out the error;* and the *counting of the deeds,*—and in both of these he caught himself. About the counting, he caught himself thus—after saying the bundle contained *five* deeds and a lease, he proceeds, "and I saw no other papers than the *said* deed and lease." First he has *six* papers, and then he saw none but *two* for "my son Lucians's" benefit, let a pin be stuck here.

Adams again adduces the argument, that he could not have forged the assignment, for the reason that he could have had no *motive* for it. With those that know the facts there is no absence of motive. Admitting the paper, which he has filed in the suit to be genuine, it is clear that *it* cannot answer the purpose for which he designs it. Hence his motive for making one that he supposed would answer, is obvious.—His making the date too old is also easily enough accounted for. The records were not in his hands, and then there being some considerable talk upon this particular subject, he knew he could not examine the records to ascertain the precise dates without subjecting himself to suspicion; and hence he concluded to try it by guess, and as it turned out, missed it a little. About Miller's deposition, I have a word to say. In the first place, Miller's answer to the first question shows upon its face, that he had been tampered with, and the answer dictated to him. He was asked if he knew Joel Wright and James Adams; and above three-fourths of his answer consists of what he knew about Joseph Anderson, a man about

whom nothing had been asked, nor a word said in the question—a fact that can only be accounted for upon the supposition, that Adams had secretly told him what he wished him to swear to.

Another of Miller's answers I will prove both by common sense and the Court of Record is untrue. To one question he answers, "Anderson brought a suit against me before James Adams, then an acting Justice of the Peace in Sangamon County, before whom he obtained a judgment.

Q.—Did you *remove* the same by injunction to the Sangamon Circuit Court? Ans.—I did remove it. Now mark—it is said he *removed* it by *injunction.* The word *"injunction"* in common language imports a command that some person or thing shall not *move* or be *removed;* in law it has the same meaning. An injunction issuing out of Chancery to a Justice of the Peace, is a command to him to stop all proceedings in a named case until further orders. It is not an order to *remove* but to *stop* or stay something that is already *moving.* Besides this, the records of the Sangamon Circuit Court show, that the judgment of which Miller swore was never removed into said Court by injunction or otherwise.

I have now to take notice of a part of Adams's address which in the order of time should have been noticed before. It is in these words, "I have now shown, in the opinion of two competent judges, that the handwriting of the forged assignment differed from mine, *and by one of them that it could not be mistaken for mine."* That is false. Tinsley no doubt is the judge referred to; and by reference to his certificate it will be seen that he did not say the handwriting of the assignment could not be mistaken for Adams's—nor did he use any other expression substantially, or anything near substantially the same. But if Tinsley had said the handwriting could not be mistaken for Adams's, it would have been equally unfortunate for Adams: for it then would have contradicted Keys, who says, "I looked at the writing and judged it the said Adams's or a good imitation."

Adams speaks with much apparent confidence of his success on attending law suits, and the ultimate maintenance of his title to the land in question. Without wishing to disturb the pleasure of his dream, I would say to him that it is not impossible, that he may yet be taught to sing a different song in relation to the matter.

At the end of Miller's deposition, Adams asks, "Will Mr. Lin-

coln *now* say that he is almost convinced my title to this ten acre tract of land is founded in fraud?" I answer, I will not. I will *now* change the phraseology so as to make it run—I am *quite* convinced, &c. I cannot pass in silence Adams's assertion that he has proved that the forged assignment was not in the deed when it came from his house by *Talbott,* the Recorder. In this, although Talbott has sworn that the assignment was in the bundle of deeds when it came from his house, Adams has the unaccountable assurance to say that he has proved the contrary by Talbott. Let him or his friends attempt to show, wherein he proved any such thing by Talbott.

In his publication of the 6th of September he *hinted* to Talbott, that *he might be mistaken.* In his present, speaking of Talbott and me he says *"They may have been imposed upon."* Can any man of the least penetration fail to see the object of this? After he has stormed and raged till he hopes and imagines he has got us a little scared he wishes to softly whisper in our ears, "If you'll quit I will." If he could get us to say that some unknown, undefined being had slipped the assignment into our hands without our knowledge, not a doubt remains but that he would immediately discover, that we were the purest men on earth. This is the ground he evidently wishes us to understand he is willing to compromise upon. But we ask no such charity at his hands. We are neither *mistaken* nor *imposed upon.* We have made the statements we have, because we know them to be true and we choose to live or die by them.

Esq. Carter, who is Adams' friend, personal and political, will recollect, that, on the 5th of this month, he, (Adams) with a great affectation of modesty, declared that he would never introduce his own child as a witness. Notwithstanding this affectation of modesty, he has in his present publication introduced his child as witness; and as if to show with how much contempt he could treat his own declaration, he has had this same Esq. Carter to administer the oath to him. And so important a witness does he consider him, and so entirely does the whole of his entire present production depend upon the testimony of his child, that in it he has mentioned "my son," "my son Lucian," "Lucian, my son," and the like expressions no less than fifteen different times. Let it be remembered here, that I have shown the affidavit of "my darling son Lucian" to be false by the evidence apparent on its own face; and I now ask if that affidavit be

taken away what foundation will the fabric have left to stand upon?

General Adams's publications and out-door maneuvring taken in connection with the editorial articles of the "Republican," are not more foolish and contradictory than they are ludicrous and amusing. One week the "Republican" notifies the public that Gen. Adams is preparing an *instrument* that will tear, rend split, rive, blow up, confound, overwhelm, annihilate, extinguish, exterminate, burst asunder, and grind to powder all its slanderers, and particularly Talbott and Lincoln—all of which is to be done *in due time*. Then for two or three weeks all is calm—not a word said. Again the "Republican" comes forth with a mere passing remark that "Public opinion has decided in favor of Gen. Adams," and intimates that he will give himself no more trouble about the matter. In the meantime Adams himself is prowling about, and as Burns says of the Devil, "For prey, a' holes and corners tryin'," and in one instance, goes so far as to take an old acquaintance of mine several steps from a crowd and apparently weighed down with the importance of his business, gravely and solemnly asks him if *"he ever heard Lincoln say he was a deist."* Anon the "Republican" comes again, "We invite the attention of the public to General Adams's communication," &c., "The victory is a great one," "The triumph is overwhelming." (I really believe the editor of the Illinois "Republican" is fool enough to think General Adams is an honest man.) Then Gen. Adams leads off—*"Authors most egregiously mistaken,"* &c.,—*"most wofully shall their presumption be punished,"* &c. (Lord, have mercy on us.) *"The hour is yet to come, yea nigh at hand*—(how long first do you reckon?)—*when the 'Journal' and its junto shall say, I have appeared too early."*—*"Then infamy shall be laid bare to the public gaze."* Suddenly the Gen. appears to relent at the severity with which he is treating us and he exclaims, *"The condemnation of my enemies is the inevitable result of my own defense."* For your health's sake dear Gen., do not permit your tenderness of heart to afflict you so much on our account. For some reason (perhaps because we are killed so quickly) we shall never be sensible of our suffering.

Farewell, General. I will see you again at Court, if not before—when and where we will settle the question whether you or the widow shall have the land.

October 18, 1837.

A. Lincoln.

SPEECH BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN BEFORE THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE IN JANUARY, 1837.

In the House of Representatives, upon the resolution offered by Mr. Linder, to institute an enquiry into the management of the affairs of the State Bank.

Mr. Chairman: Lest I should fall into the too common error, of being mistaken in regard to which side I design to be upon, I shall make it my first care to remove all doubt on that point, by declaring that I am opposed to the resolution under consideration, in toto. Before I proceed to the body of the subject, I will further remark, that it is not without a considerable degree of apprehension, that I venture to cross the track of the gentleman from Coles (Mr. Linder). Indeed, I do not believe I could muster a sufficiency of courage to come in contact with that gentleman, were it not for the fact, that he, some days since, most graciously condescended to assure us that he would never be found wasting ammunition on *small game*. On the same fortunate occasion, he further gave us to understand, that he regarded *himself* as being decidedly the *superior* of our common friend from Randolph (Mr. Shields); and feeling, as I really do, that I, to say the most of myself, am nothing more than the peer of our friend Randolph, I shall regard the gentleman from Coles as decidedly my superior also, and consequently, in the course of what I shall have to say, whenever I shall have occasion to allude to that gentleman, I shall endeavor to adopt that kind of court language which I understand to be due to decided superiority. In one faculty, at least, there can be no dispute of the gentleman's superiority over me, and most other men; and that is, the faculty of entangling a subject, so that neither himself, or any other man, can find head or tail to it. Here he has introduced a resolution, embracing ninety-nine printed lines across common writing paper, and yet more than one-half of his opening speech has been made upon subjects about which there is not one word said in his resolution.

Though his resolution embraces nothing in regard to the constitutionality of the Bank, much of what he has said has been with a view to make the impression that it was unconstitutional in its inception. Now, although I am satisfied that an ample field may be found within the pale of the resolution, at least for

small game, yet as the gentleman has travelled out of it, I feel that I may, with all due humility, venture to follow him. The gentleman has discovered that some gentleman at Washington city has been upon the very eve of deciding our Bank unconstitutional, and that he would probably have completed his very authentic decision, had not some one of the Bank officers placed his hand upon his mouth, and begged him to withhold it. The fact that the individuals composing our Supreme Court, have, in an official capacity, decided in favor of the constitutionality of the Bank? Are they to be clothed with power to send for persons fact known to all, that the members of the Supreme Court, together with the Governor, form a Council of Revision, and that this Council approved this Bank Charter. I asked, then, if the extrajudicial decision—not quite, but almost made, by the gentleman at Washington, before whom, by the way, the question of the constitutionality of our Bank never has, nor never can come—is to be taken as paramount to a decision officially made by that tribunal, by which and which alone, the constitutionality of the Bank can never be settled? But aside from this view of the subject, I would ask, if the committee which this resolution proposes to appoint, are to examine into the constitutionality of the Bank? Are they to be clothed with power to send for persons and papers, for this object? And after they have found the Bank to be unconstitutional, and decided it so, how are they to enforce their decision? What will their decision amount to? They cannot compel the Bank to cease operations, or to change the course of its operations. What good, then, can their labors result in? Certainly none.

The gentleman asks, if we, without an examination, shall, by giving the State deposits to the Bank, and by taking the stock reserved for the State, legalize its former misconduct? Now I do not pretend to possess sufficient legal knowledge to decide whether a legislative enactment, proposing to, and accepting from, the Bank, certain terms, which would have the effect to legalize or wipe out its former errors, or not; but I can assure the gentleman, if such should be the effect, he has already got behind the settlement of accounts; for it is well known to all, that the Legislature, at its last session, passed a supplemental Bank charter, which the Bank has since accepted, and which, according to his doctrine, has legalized all the alleged violations of its original charter in the distribution of its stock.

I now proceed to the resolution. By examination it will be found that the first thirty-three lines, being precisely one-third of the whole, relate exclusively to the distribution of the stock by the commissioners appointed by the State. Now, Sir, it is clear that no question can arise on this portion of the resolution except a question between capitalists in regard to the ownership of stock. Some gentlemen have their stock in their hands, while others, who have more money than they know what to do with, want it; and this, and this alone, is the question, to settle which we are called on to squander thousands of the people's money. What interest, let me ask, have the people in the settlement of this question? What difference is it to them whether the stock is owned by Judge Smith or Sam Wiggins? If any gentleman be entitled to stock in the Bank, which he is kept out of possession of by others, let him assert his right in the Supreme Court, and let him or his antagonist, whichever may be found in the wrong, pay the costs of suit. It is an old maxim and a very sound one, that he that dances should always pay the fiddler. Now, Sir, in the present case, if any gentlemen, whose money is a burden to them, choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler. No one can doubt that the examination proposed by this resolution, must cost the State some ten or twelve thousand dollars; and all this to settle a question in which the people have no interest, and about which they care nothing. These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people, and now, that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.

I leave this part of the resolution and proceed to the remainder. It will be found that no charge in the remaining part of the resolution, if true, amounts to the violation of the Bank charter, except one, which I will notice in due time. It might seem quite sufficient to say no more upon any of these charges or insinuations, than enough to show they are not violations of the charter; yet, as they are ingeniously framed and handled, with a view to deceive and mislead, I will notice in their order, all the most prominent of them. The first of these is in relation to a connection between our Bank and several Banking institutions in other States. Admitting this connection to exist, I should like to see the gentleman from Coles, or any other gentleman, undertake to show that there is any harm in it. What can there be in such

a connection that the people of Illinois are willing to pay their money to get a peep into? By a reference to the tenth section of the Bank charter, any gentleman can see that the framers of the act contemplated the holding of stock in the institutions of other corporations. Why, then, is it, when neither law nor justice forbids it, that we are asked to spend out time and money, in inquiring into its truth?

The next charge, in the order of time, is, that some officer, director, clerk or servant of the Bank, has been required to take an oath of secrecy in relation to the affairs of said Bank. Now, I do not know whether this be true or false—neither do I believe any honest man cares. I know that the seventh section of the charter expressly guarantees to the Bank the right of making, under certain restrictions, such by-laws as it may think fit; and I further know that the requiring an oath of secrecy would not transcend those restrictions. What, then, if the Bank has chosen to exercise the right? Who can it injure? Does not every merchant have his secret mark? and who is ever silly enough to complain of it? I presume if the Bank does require any such oath of secrecy, it is done through a motive of delicacy to those individuals who deal with it. Why, sir, not many days since, one gentleman upon this floor, who, by the way, I have no doubt is now ready to join this hue and cry against the Bank, indulged in a phillippic against one of the Bank officials, because, as he said, he had *divulged a secret.*

Immediately following this last charge, there are several insinuations in the resolution, which are too silly to require any sort of notice, were it not for the fact, that they conclude by saying, *"to the great injury of the people at large."* In answer to this I would say that it is strange enough, that the people are suffering these "great injuries," and yet are not sensible of it! Singular indeed that the people should be writhing under oppression and injury, and yet not one among them to be found, to raise the voice of complaint. If the Bank be inflicting injury upon the people, why is it, that not a single petition is presented to this body on the subject? If the Bank really be a grievance, why is it, that no one of the real people is found to ask redress of it? The truth is, no such oppression exists. If it did, our people would groan with memorials and petitions, and we would not be permitted to rest day or night, till we had put it down. The people know their rights, and they are never slow to assert

and maintain them, when they are invaded. Let them call for an investigation, and I shall ever stand ready to respond to the call. But they have made no such call. I make the assertion boldly, and without fear of contradiction, that no man, who does not hold an office, or does not aspire to one, has ever found any fault of the Bank. It has doubled the prices of the products of their farms, and filled their pockets with a sound circulating medium, and they are all well pleased with its operations. No, Sir, it is the politician who is the first to sound the alarm, (which, by the way, is a false one.) It is he, who, by these unholy means, is endeavoring to blow up a storm that he may ride upon and direct. It is he, and he alone, that here proposes to spend thousands of the people's public treasure, for no other advantage to them, than to make valueless in their pockets the reward of their industry. Mr. Chairman, this work is exclusively the work of politicians; a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom, because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.

Again, it is charged, or rather insinuated, that officers of the Bank have loaned money at usurious rates of interest. Suppose this to be true, are we to send a committee of this House to enquire into it? Suppose the committee should find it true, can they redress the injured individuals? Assuredly not. If any individual had been injured in this way, is there not an ample remedy to be found in the laws of the land? Does the gentleman from Coles know that there is a statute standing in full force, making it highly penal, for an individual to loan money at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent? If he does not he is too ignorant to be placed at the head of the committee which his resolution proposes; and if he does, his neglect to mention it, shows him to be too uncandid to merit the respect or confidence of any one.

But besides all this, if the Bank were struck from existence, could not the owners of the capital still loan it usuriously, as well as now? Whatever the Bank, or its officers, may have done, I know that usurious transactions were much more frequent and enormous before the commencement of its operations than they have ever been since.

The next insinuation is, that the Bank has refused specie pay-

ments. This, if true, is a violation of the charter. But there is not the least probability of its truth; because, if such had been the fact, the individual to whom payment was refused would have had an interest in making it public, by suing for the damages to which the charter entitles him. Yet no such thing has been done; and the strong presumption is, that the insinuation is false and groundless.

From this to the end of the resolution, there is nothing that merits attention—I therefore drop the particular examination of it.

By a general view of the resolution, it will be seen that a principal object of the committee is, to examine into, and ferret out, a mass of corruption, supposed to have been committed by the commissioners who apportioned the stock of the Bank. I believe it is universally understood and acknowledged that all men will ever act correctly, unless they have a motive to do otherwise. If this be true, we can only suppose that the commissioners acted corruptly, by also supposing that they were bribed to do so. Taking this view of the subject, I would ask if the Bank is likely to find it more difficult to bribe the committee of seven, which we are about to appoint, than it may have found it to bribe the commissioners?

(Here Mr. Linder called to order. The Chair decided that Mr. Lincoln was not out of order. Mr. Linder appealed to the House; —but before the question was put, withdrew his appeal, saying, he preferred to let the gentleman go on; he thought he would break his own neck. Mr. Lincoln proceeded)—

Another *gracious condescension,* I acknowledge it with gratitude. I know I was not out of order; and I know every sensible man in the House knows it. I was not saying that the gentleman from Coles could not (?) be bribed, nor, on the other hand, will I say he could not. In that particular I leave him where I found him. I was only endeavoring to show that there was at least as great a probability of *any* seven members that could be selected from this House, being bribed to act corruptly, as there was, that the twenty-four commissioners had been so bribed. By a reference to the ninth section of the Bank charter, it will be seen that those commissioners were John Tilson, Robert K. McLaughlin, Daniel Wann, A. G. S. Wight, John C. Riley, W. H. Davidson, Edward M. Wilson, Edward L. Pierson, Robert R. Green,

Ezra Baker, Aquilla Wren, John Taylor, Samuel C. Christy, Edmund Roberts, Benjamin Godfrey, Thomas Mather, A. M. Jenkins, W. Linn, W. S. Gilman, Charles Prentice, Richard I. Hamilton, A. H. Buckner, W. F. Thornton, and Edmund D. Taylor.

These are twenty-four of the most respectable men in the State. Probably no twenty-four men could be selected in the State, with whom the people are better acquainted, or in whose honor and integrity, they would more readily place confidence. And I now repeat, that there is less probability that those men have been bribed and corrupted, than that *any* seven men, or rather any *six* men, that could be selected from the members of this House, might be so bribed and corrupted; even though they were headed and led on by "decided superiority" himself.

In all seriousness, I ask every reasonable man, if an issue be joined by these twenty-four commissioners, on the one part, and *any* other seven men, on the other part, and the whole depend upon the honor and integrity of the contending parties, to which party would the greatest degree of credit be due? Again: Another consideration is, that we have no right to make the examination. What I shall say upon this head, I design exclusively for the law-loving and law-abiding part of the House. To those who claim omnipotence for the Legislature, and who in the plenitude of their assumed powers, are disposed to disregard the Constitution, law, good faith, moral right, and every thing else, I have not a word to say. But to the law-abiding part I say, examine the Bank charter, go examine the Constitution; go examine the acts that the General Assembly of this State has passed, and you will find just as much authority given in each and every of them, to compel the Bank to bring its coffers to this hall, and to pour their contents upon this floor, as to compel it to submit to this examination which this resolution proposes. Why, sir, the gentleman from Coles, the mover of this resolution, very lately denied on this floor, that the Legislature had any right to repeal or otherwise meddle with its own acts, when those acts were made in the nature of contracts, and had been accepted and acted on by other parties. Now I ask, if this resolution does not propose, for this House alone, to do what he, but the other day, denied the right of the whole Legislature to do? He must either abandon the position he then took, or he

must now vote against his own resolution. It is no difference to me, and I presume but little to any one else, which he does.

I am by no means the special advocate of the Bank. I have long thought that it would be well for it to report its condition to the General Assembly, and that cases might occur, when it might be proper to make an examination of its affairs by a committee. Accordingly, during the last session, while a bill supplemental to the Bank charter, was pending before the House, I offered an amendment to the same, in these words: "The said corporation shall, at the next session of the General Assembly, and at each subsequent General Session, during the existence of its charter, report to the same the amount of debts due *from* said corporation; the amount of debts due *to* the same; the amount of specie in its vaults, and an account of all lands then owned by the same, and the amount for which such lands have been taken; and moreover, if said corporation shall at any time neglect or refuse to submit its books, papers, and all and everything necessary, for a full and fair examination of its affairs, to any person or persons appointed by the General Assembly, for the purpose of making such examination, the said corporation shall forfeit its charter."

This amendment was negatived by a vote of 34 to 15. Eleven of the 34 who voted against it are now members of this House; and though it would be out of order to call their names, I hope they will all recollect themselves, and not vote for this examination to be made without authority, inasmuch as they refused to receive the authority when it was in their power to do so.

I have said that cases might occur, when an examination might be proper; but I do not believe any such case has now occurred; and if it has, I should still be opposed to making an examination without legal authority. I am opposed to encouraging that lawless and mobocratic spirit, whether in relation to the Bank or any thing else, which is already abroad in the land; and is spreading with rapid and fearful impetuosity, to the ultimate overthrow of every institution, of even moral principle, in which persons and property have hitherto found security.

But supposing we had the authority, I would ask what good can result from the examination? Can we declare the Bank unconstitutional, and compel it to desist from the abuses of its power, provided we find such abuses to exist? Can we repair

the injuries which it may have done to individuals? Most certainly we can do none of these things. Why then shall we spend the public money in such employment? O, say the examiners, we can injure the credit of the Bank, if nothing else.—Please tell me, gentlemen, who will suffer most by that? You cannot injure, to any extent, the stockholders. They are men of wealth —of large capital; and consequently, beyond the power of malice. But by injuring the credit of the Bank, you will depreciate the value of its paper in the hands of the honest and unsuspecting farmer and mechanic, and that is all you can do. But suppose you could affect your whole purpose; suppose you could wipe the Bank from existence, which is the grand *ultimatum* of the project, what would be the consequence? Why, sir, we should spend several thousand dollars of the public treasure in the operation, annihilate the currency of the State; render valueless in the hands of our people that reward of their former labors; and finally, be once more under the comfortable obligation of paying the Wiggins' loan, principal and interest.

(The foregoing speech is found in the Sangamo "Journal" of January 28, 1837. It was copied by the "Journal" from the Vandalia "Free Press.")

SPRINGFIELD, June 11th, 1839.

DEAR ROW:—

Mr. Redman informs me that you wish me to write you the particulars of a conversation between Dr. Felix and myself relative to you. The Dr. overtook me between Rushville and Beardstown. He, after learning that I had lived at Springfield, asked if I was acquainted with you. I told him I was. He said you had lately been elected constable in Adams, but that you never would be again. I asked him why? He said the people there, had found out that you had been Sheriff or Deputy Sheriff in Sangamon County, and that you came off and left your securities to suffer. He then asked me if I did not know such to be the fact. I told him I did not think you had ever been Sheriff or Deputy Sheriff in Sangamon; but that I thought you had been constable. I further told him that if you had left your securities to suffer in that or any other case, I had never heard of it, and that if it had been so, I thought I would have heard of it.

If the Dr. is telling that I told him anything against you whatever, I authorize you to contradict it flatly. We have no news here. Your friend, as ever

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Feby. 16, 1842.

G. B. SHELEDY, ESQR.:

Yours of the 10th is duly received. Judge Logan and myself are doing business together now, and we are willing to attend to your cases as you propose—As to the terms, we are willing to attend each case you prepare and send us for $10 (when there shall be no opposition) to be sent in advance, or you to know that it is safe— It takes $5.75 of cost to start upon, that is, $1.75 to clerk, and $2 to each of two publishers of papers— Judge Logan thinks it will take the balance of $20 to carry a case through— This must be advanced from time to time as the services are performed, as the officers will not act without—I do not know whether you can be admitted as an attorney of the Federal court in your absence or not; nor is it material, as the business can be done in our names.

Thinking it may aid you a little, I send you one of our blank form of Petitions— It, you will see, is framed to be sworn to before the Federal court clerk, and, in your cases, will have (to) be so far changed, as to be sworn to before the clerk of your circuit court; and his certificate must be acompanied with his official seal— The schedules, too, must be attended to— Be sure that they contain the *creditors* names, their *residences*, the *amounts* due each, the *debtors* names, their residences, and the amounts they owe, also all property and where located.

Also be sure that the schedules are signed by the applicants as well as the Petition.

Publication will have to be made here in one paper, and in one nearest the residence of the applicant. Write us in each case where the last advertisement is to be sent, whether to you or to what paper.

I believe I have now said everything that can be of any advantage. Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Historical Dep't of Iowa, loaned by the Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, Des Moines, Iowa.)

February 22, 1842.

To George E. Pickett.

. . . . . .

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence* on your part. You see I have a congenital aversion to failure, and the sudden announcement to your Uncle Andrew of the success of your "lamp-rubbing," might possibly prevent your passing the severe *physical* examination to which you will be subjected in order to enter the Military Academy. You see, I should like to have a perfect soldier credited to dear old Illinois—no broken bones, scalp wounds, etc. So I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner,* and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.

. . . . . .

I have just told the folks here in Springfield on this 111th anniversary of the birth of him whose name, mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in the cause of moral reformation, we mention in solemn awe, in naked, deathless splendor, that the one victory we can ever call complete will be that one which proclaims that there is not one slave or one drunkard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory.

. . . . . .

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.

(Original owned by Lasalle Corbell Pickett. Extracts published in "Pickett & His Men.")

Springfield, August 15, 1842.

Friend Walker:

Enclosed you have an order of court allowing your assignee to sell your property on a credit. Nothing is said in it about allowing your creditors pay for what they may purchase without money. We however, think this is a matter of no consequences; as it will be a matter of course to take their *bonds* and security,

as of other purchasers, and then, in the final settlement, to set off their dividends against those bonds in whole or as far as they will go.

Yours, &c.,

Logan & Lincoln.

(Original owned by J. H. Franklin, Lacon, Ill.)

John Bennett.

Springfield, March 7, 1843.

Friend Bennett:

Your letter of this day was handed me by Mr. Miles— It is too late now to effect the object you desire—On yesterday morning the most of the whig members from this District got together and agreed to hold the convention at Tremont in Tazewell County—I am sorry to hear that any of the whigs of your County, or indeed of any County, should be longer against conventions.—On last Wednesday evening a meeting of all the whigs then here from all parts of the state was held, and the question of the propriety of conventions was brought up and fully discussed, and at the end of the discussion, a resolution recommending the system of conventions to all the whigs of the state was unanimously adopted.—Other resolutions were also passed, all of which will appear in the next Journal. The meeting also appointed a committee to draft an address to the people of the state, which address will also appear in the next Journal.

In it you will find a brief argument in favor of conventions—and although I wrote it myself I will say to you that it is conclusive upon the point and can not be reasonably answered. The right way for you to do is hold your meeting and appoint delegates anyhow, and if there be any who will not take part, let it be so.—The matter will work so well this time that even they who now oppose will come in next time.

The convention is to be held .t Tremont on the 5th of April and according to the rule we have adopted your County is to have delegates—being double the number of your representation—

If there be any good whig who is disposed to stick out against conventions get him at least to read the argument in their favor in the address.

Yours as ever.

(Original owned by E. B. Oeltjen, Petersburg, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, May 11th, 1843.

FRIEND HARDIN:

Butler informs me that he received a letter from you, in which you expressed some doubt whether the whigs of Sangamon will support you cordially— You may, at once, dismiss all fears on that subject— We have already resolved to make a particular effort to give you the very largest majority possible in our county— From this, no whig of the county dissents— We have many objects for doing it. We make it a matter of honor and pride to do it; we do it, because we love the whig cause; we do it, because we like you personally; and last, we wish to convince you, that we do not bear that hatred to Morgan county, that you people have so long seemed to imagine. You will see by the journal of this week, that we propose, upon pain of losing a Barbecue, to give you twice as great a majority in this county as you shall receive in your own. I got up the proposal.

Who of the five appointed, is to write the District address? I did the labor of writing one address this year; and got thunder for my reward. Nothing new here. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—I wish you would measure one of the largest of those swords we took to Alton, and write me the length of it, from tip of the point to tip of the hilt, in feet and inches, I have a dispute about the length. A. L.

(Original owned by Ellen Hardin Walworth, New York City.)

This memorandum witnesseth that Charles Dresser and Abraham Lincoln of Springfield, Illinois, have contracted with each other as follows:

The said Dresser is to convey to or procure to be conveyed to said Lincoln, by a clear title in fee simple, the entire premises (ground and improvements) in Springfield, on which said Dresser now resides, and give him possession of said premises, on or before the first day of April next—for which said Lincoln, at or before the same day, is to pay to said Dresser twelve hundred dollars, or what said Dresser shall then at his option, accept as equivalent thereto; and also to procure to be conveyed to said Dresser, by a clear title in fee simple, the entire premises (ground and building) in Springfield, on the block immediately West of the Public square, the building on which is now occupied by H. A. Hough as a shop, being the same premises some time

since conveyed by N. W. Edwards and wife to said Lincoln and Stephen T. Logan—Said Dresser takes upon himself to arrange with said Hough for the possession of said shop and premises.

CHARLES DRESSER,
A. LINCOLN.

Jan'y 16, 1844.
(Signed duplicates.)
(Original on file in Springfield, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, May 21, 1844.

DEAR HARDIN:

Knowing that you have correspondents enough, I have forborne to trouble you heretofore; and I now only do so, to get you to set a matter right which has got wrong with one of our best friends. It is old uncle Thomas Campbell of Spring Creek—(Berlin P. O.). He has received several documents from you, and he says they are old newspapers and documents, having no sort of interest in them. He is, therefore, getting a strong impression that you treat him with disrespect. This, I know, is a mistaken impression; and you must correct it. The way, I leave to yourself. Rob't W. Canfield, says he would like to have a document or two from you.

The Locos here are in considerable trouble about Van Buren's letter on Texas, and the Virginia electors. They are growing sick of the Tariff question; and consequently are much confounded at V. B.'s cutting them off from the new Texas question. Nearly half the leaders swear they won't stand it. Of those are Ford, T. Campbell, Ewing, Calhoun and others. They don't exactly say they won't vote for V. B., but they say he will not be the candidate, and that *they* are for Texas anyhow. As ever yours,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Ellen Hardin Walworth, New York City.)

To General John J. Hardin.

SPRINGFIELD, January 19, 1845.

DEAR GENERAL:

I do not wish to join in your proposal of a new plan for the selection of a whig candidate for Congress, because—

1st. I am entirely satisfied with the old system under which you and Baker were successively nominated and elected to Con-

gress; and because the Whigs of the District are well acquainted with the system, and so far as I know or believe, are well satisfied with it. If the old system be thought to be vague, as to all the delegates of the county voting the same way; or as to instructions to them as to whom they are to vote for; or as to filling vacancies,—I am willing to join in a provision to make these matters certain.

2nd. As to your proposals that a poll shall be opened in *every* precinct, and that the whole shall take place on the *same* day, I do not personally object. They seem to me to be not unfair; and I forbear to join in proposing them, only because I choose to leave the decision in each county to the Whigs of the county, to be made as their own judgment and convenience may dictate.

3rd. As to your proposed stipulation that all the candidates shall remain in their own counties, and restrain their friends in the same—it seems to me that on reflection you will see, the fact of your having been in Congress has, in various ways, so spread your name in the District, as to give you a decided advantage in such a stipulation. I appreciate your desire to keep down excitement; and I promise you 'keep cool' under all circumstances.

4th. I have already said I am satisfied with the old system under which such good men have triumphed, and that I desire no departure from its principles. But if there must be a departure from it, I shall insist upon a more accurate and just apportionment of delegates, or representative votes, to the constituent body, than exists by the old; and which you propose to retain in your new plan. If we take the entire population of the Counties as shown by the late census, we shall see by the old plan, and by your proposed new plan,—

Morgan county, with a population of 16541, has but.... 8 votes
While Sangamon with 18697—2156 greater, has but.... 8 votes
So Scott with 6553 has..... 4 votes
While Tazewell with 7615 has 1062 greater, has but.... 4 votes
So Mason with 3135 has ..... 1 vote
While Logan with 3907, 772 greater, has but..... 1 vote

And so on in a less degree the matter runs through all the counties, being not only wrong in principle, but the advantage of it being all manifestly in your favor with one slight exception, in the comparison of two counties not here mentioned.

Again, if we take the whig votes of the counties as shown by the late Presidential election as a basis, the thing is still worse. Take a comparison of the same six counties—

Morgan with her 1443 whig votes has	8 votes
Sangamon with her 1837, 394 greater, only has	8 votes
Mason with her 255 has	1 vote
Logan with her 310, 55 greater, has only	1 vote
Scott with her 670 has	4 votes
Tazewell with her 1011, 341 greater, has only	4 votes

It seems to me most obvious that the old system needs adjustment in nothing so much as in this: and still, by your proposal, no notice is taken of it. I have always been in the habit of acceding to almost any proposal that a friend would make and I am truly sorry that I cannot in this. I perhaps ought to mention that some friends at different places are endeavoring to sesure the honor of the sitting of the convention at their towns respectively, and I fear that they would not feel much complimented if we shall make a bargain that it should sit no where.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Copied from the Sangamo "Journal" for Feb. 26th, 1846.)

Springfield, March 1, 1845.

Friend Williams:

The supreme court adjourned this morning for the term. Your cases of Reinhardt vs. Schuyler, Bunce vs. Schuyler, Dickhut vs. Dunell, and Sullivan vs. Andrews are continued. Hinman vs. Pope I wrote you concerning some time ago. McNutt et al. vs. Bean and Thompson is reversed and remanded.

Fitzpatrick vs. Brady et al. is reversed and remanded with leave to complainant to amend his bill so as to show the real consideration given for the land.

Bunce against Graves, the court confirmed, wherefore, in accordance with your directions, I moved to have the case remanded to enable you to take a new trial in the court below. The court allowed the motion; of which I am glad, and I guess you are.

This, I believe, is all as to court business. The canal men have got their measure through the legislature pretty much or

quite in the shape they desired. Nothing else now. Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. A. J. Morton, Washington, D. C.)

Williamson Durley.

SPRINGFIELD, October 3, 1845.

When I saw you at home, it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an Abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your country.

I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr Clay would now be President, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes (so) as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: "We are not to do evil that good may come." This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension,* etc., of slavery would it not have been *good,* and not *evil,* so to have used your votes, even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder. By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand. I never could very clearly see how the

annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox thought it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did; and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it, if they had chosen.

I intend this letter for you and Madison together; and if you and he or either shall think fit to drop me a line, I shall be pleased.

Yours with respect,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by C. W. Durley, Princeton, Illinois.)

Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.

Springfield, Jany. 7, 1846.

Dear Doctor:

Since I saw you last fall, I have often thought of writing you, as it was then understood I would, but, on reflection, I have always found that I had nothing new to tell you. All has happened as I then told you I expected it would—Baker's declining, Hardin's taking the track, and so on.

If Hardin and I stood precisely equal, if *neither* of us had been in Congress, or, if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That *I* can voluntarily postpone my pretentions, when they are no more than equal to

those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances, seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This, I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, usually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play." This he practically at least, denies.

If it would not be taxing you too much, I wish you would write me, telling the aspect of things in your country, or rather your district; and also, send the names of some of your Whig neighbours, to whom I might, with propriety, write. Unless I can get some one to do this, Hardin, with his old franking list, will have the advantage of me. My reliance for a fair shake (and I want nothing more) in your county is chiefly on you, because of your position and standing, and because I am acquainted with so few others. Let me hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Illinois.)

REPORT OF SPEECH DELIVERED AT WORCESTER, MASS., ON SEPT. 12, 1848.

(From the Boston "Advertiser.")

Mr. Kellogg then introduced to the meeting the Hon. Abram Lincoln, whig member of Congress from Illinois, a representative of *free soil.*

Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind, and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool, and very eloquent manner, for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations—only interrupted by warm and frequent applause. He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience "this side of the mountains," a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming presidential election, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might the ideas to which he had arrived. He then began to show

the fallacy of some of the arguments against Gen. Taylor, making his chief theme the fashionable statement of all those who oppose him, ("the old Locofocos as well as the new") that he *has no principles,* and that the Whig party have abandoned their principles by adopting him as their candidate. He maintained that Gen. Taylor occupied a high and unexceptionable Whig ground, and took for his first instance and proof of this statement in the Allison letter—with regard to the Bank, Tariff, Rivers and Harbors, etc.—that the will of the people should produce its own results, without Executive influence. The principle that the people should do what—under the constitution—they please, is a Whig principle. All that Gen. Taylor is not only to consent, but to appeal to the people to judge and act for themselves. And this was no new doctrine for Whigs. It was the "platform" on which they had fought all their battles, the resistance of Executive influence, and the principle of enabling the people to frame the government according to their will. Gen. Taylor consents to be the candidate, and to assist the people to do what they think to be their duty, and think to be best in their natural affairs, but because *he don't want to tell what we ought to do,* he is accused of having no principles. The Whigs here maintained for years that neither the influence, the duress, or the prohibition of the Executive should control the legitimately expressed will of the people; and now that on that very ground, Gen. Taylor says that he should use the power given him by the people to do, to the best of his judgment, the will of the people, he is accused of want of principle, and of inconsistency in position.

Mr. Lincoln proceeded to examine the absurdity of an attempt to make a platform or creed for a national party, to *all* parts of which *all* must consent and agree, when it was clearly the intention and the true philosophy of our government, that in Congress all opinions and principles should be represented, and that when the wisdom of all had been compared and united, the will of the majority should be carried out. On this ground he conceived (and the audience seemed to go with him) that Gen. Taylor held correct, sound republican principles.

Mr. Lincoln then passed to the subject of slavery in the states, saying that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slav-

ery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it and cannot affect it in states of the Union where we do not live. But, the question of the *extension* of slavery to new territories of this country, is a part of our responsibility and care, and is under our control. In opposition to this Mr. L. believed that the self-named "Free Soil" party, was far behind the Whigs. Both parties opposed the extension. As he understood it the new party had no principle except this opposition. If their platform held any other, it was in such a general way that it was like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee pedlar offered for sale "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy." They therefore had taken a position calculated to break down their single important declared object. They were working for the election of either Gen. Cass or Gen. Taylor. The speaker then went on to show, clearly and eloquently, the danger of extension of slavery, likely to result from the election of General Cass. To unite with those who annexed the new territory to prevent the extension of slavery in that territory seemed to him to be in the highest degree absurd and ridiculous. Suppose these gentlemen succeed in electing Mr. Van Buren, they had no specific means to *prevent* the extension of slavery to New Mexico and California, and Gen. Taylor, he confidently believed, would not encourage it, and would not prohibit its restriction. But if Gen. Cass was elected, he felt certain that the plans of farther extension of territory would be encouraged, and those of the extension of slavery would meet no check. The "Free Soil" men in claiming that name indirectly attempts a deception, by implying that Whigs were *not* Free Soil men. In declaring that they would "do their duty and leave the consequences to God," merely gave an excuse for taking a course they were not able to maintain by a fair and full argument. To make this declaration did not show what their duty was. If it did we should have no use for judgment, we might as well be made without intellect, and when divine or human law does not clearly point out what *is* our duty, we have no means of finding out what it is by using our most intelligent judgment of the consequences. If there were divine law, or human law for voting for Martin Van Buren, or if a fair examination of the consequences and first reasoning would show that voting for him would bring about the ends they pretended to wish—then he would give up the argument. But since there was no fixed law on the subject, and since the whole prob-

able result of their action would be an assistance in electing Gen. Cass, he must say that they were behind the Whigs in their advocacy of the freedom of the soil.

Mr. Lincoln proceeded to rally the Buffalo Convention for forbearing to say anything—after all the previous declarations of those members who were formerly Whigs—on the subject of the Mexican war, because the Van Burens had been known to have supported it. He declared that of all the parties asking the confidence of the country, this new one had *less* of principle than any other.

He wondered whether it was still the opinion of these Free Soil gentlemen as declared in the "whereas" at Buffalo, that the Whig and Democratic parties were both entirely dissolved and absorbed into their own body. Had the *Vermont election* given them any light? They had calculated on making as great an impression in that State as in any part of the Union, and there their attempts had been wholly ineffectual. Their failure there was a greater success than they would find in any other part of the Union.

Mr. Lincoln went on to say that he honestly believed that all those who wished to keep up the character of the Union; who did not believe in enlarging our field, but in keeping our fences where they are and cultivating our present possessions, making it a garden, improving the morals and education of the people; devoting the administrations to this purpose; all real Whigs, friends of good honest government;—the race was ours. He had opportunities of hearing from almost every part of the Union from reliable sources and had not heard of a country in which we had not received accessions from other parties. If the true Whigs came forward and join these new friends, they need not have a doubt. We had a candidate whose personal character and principles he had already described, whom he could not eulogize if he would. Gen. Taylor had been constantly, perseveringly, quietly standing up, *doing his duty*, and asking no praise or reward for it. He was and must be just the man to whom the interests, principles and prosperity of the country might be safely intrusted. He had never failed in anything he had undertaken, although many of his duties had been considered almost impossible.

Mr. Lincoln then went into a terse though rapid review of the origin of the Mexican war and the connection of the administra-

tion and General Taylor with it, from which he deduced a strong appeal to the Whigs present to do their duty in the support of General Taylor, and closed with the warmest aspirations for and confidence in a deserved success.

At the close of this truly masterly and convincing speech, the audience gave three enthusiastic cheers for Illinois, and three more for the eloquent Whig member from that State.

J. Gillespie.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 19, 1849.

DEAR GILLESPIE:

Butterfield will be Commissioner of the Gen'l Land Office, unless prevented by strong and speedy efforts. Ewing is for him, and he is only not appointed yet because Old Zach. hangs fire. I have reliable information of this. Now, if you agree with me that his appointment would dissatisfy rather than gratify the Whigs of this State, that it would slacken their energies in future contests, that his appointment in '41 is an old sore with them which they will not patiently have reopened,—in a word that his appointment now would be a fatal blunder to the administration and our political men, here in Illinois, write Mr. Crittenden to that effect. He can control the matter. Were you to write Ewing I fear the President would never hear of your letter. This may be mere suspicion. You might directly to Old Zach. You will be the best judge of the propriety of that. Not a moment's time is to be lost.

Let this confidential except with Mr. Edwards and a few others whom you know I would trust just as I do you.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine G. Prickett, Edwardsville, Ill.)

Secretary of Interior, Washington, D. C.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 3, 1849.

HON. SECRETARY OF INTERIOR,

DEAR SIR: Vandalia, the Receiver's office at which place is the subject of the within, is not in my district; and I have been much perplexed to express any preference between Dr. Stapp and Mr. Remann. If any one man is better qualified for such an office than all others, Dr. Stapp is that man; still, I believe a large

majority of the Whigs of the District prefer Mr. Remann, who also is a good man. Perhaps the papers on file will enable you to judge better than I can. The writers of the within are good men, residing within the Land District.

Your obt. servant,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

J. Gillespie.

Springfield, July 13, 1849.

Dear Gillespie:

Mr. Edwards is unquestionably offended with me in connection with the matter of the General Land Office. He wrote a letter against me which was filed at the Department.

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships; and, of them, mine with Mr. Edwards was one of the most cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the Department was committed to Mr. Butterfield,—at least Mr. Ewing and the President say as much. That word I forebore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards' sake,—losing the office that he might gain it, I was always for; but to lose his *friendship*, by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2nd of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a Telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B.— and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment, three weeks, for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly out of the question I, nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery to him. Two or three days afterwards a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed, up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him, which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to. Among other things it says "whatever course your judgment may dictate as proper to be pursued, shall never be excepted to by me." I also had had a letter from Washington, saying Chambers, of the Repub-

lic, had brought a rumor then, that Mr. E— had declined in my favor, which rumor I judged came from Mr. E— himself, as I had not then breathed of this letter to any living creature. In saying I had never, before the 22nd of June, determined to be an applicant, *unconditionally*, I mean to admit that, before then, I had said substantially I would take the office rather than it should be lost to the State, or given to one in the State whom the Whigs did not want; but I aver that in every instance in which I spoke of myself, I intended to keep, and now believe I did keep, Mr. E— above myself. Mr. Edwards' first suspicion was that I had allowed Baker to overreach me, as his friend, in behalf of Don Morrison. I knew this was a mistake; and the result has proved it. I understand his view now is, that if I had gone to open war with Baker I could have ridden him down, and had the thing all my own way. I believe no such thing. With Baker and some strong man from the Military tract, & elsewhere for Morrison; and we and some strong man from the Wabash & Elsewhere for Mr. E—, it was not possible for either to succeed. I *believed* this in March, and I *know* it now. The only thing which gave either any chance was the very thing Baker & I proposed,—an adjustment with themselves.

You may wish to know how Butterfield finally beat me. I can not tell you particulars, now, but will, when I see you. In the meantime let it be understood I am not greatly dissatisfied,— I wish the offer had been so bestowed as to encourage our friends in future contests, and I regret exceedingly Mr. Edwards' feelings towards me. These two things away, I should have no regrets,—at least I think I would not.

Write me soon. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine G. Prickett, Edwardsville, Ill.)

Springfield, Jan. 11, 1851.

C. Hoyt, Esq.

My Dear Sir: Our case is decided against us. The decision was announced this morning. Very sorry, but there is no help. The history of the case since it came here is this— On Friday morning last, Mr. Joy filed his papers, and entered his motion for a mandamus, and urged me to take up the motion as soon as possible. I already had the points, and authorities sent me, by

you and by Mr. Goodrich but had not studied them— I began preparing as fast as possible.

The evening of the same day I was again urged to take up the case. I refused on the ground that I was not ready, and on which plea I also got off over Saturday. But on Monday (the 14th) I had to go into it. We occupied the whole day, I using the large part. I made every point and used every authority sent me by yourself and by Mr. Goodrich; and in addition all the points I could think of and all the authorities I could find myself. When I closed the argument on my part, a large package was handed me, which proved to be the Plat you sent me. The court received it of me, but it was not different from the Plat already on the record. I do not think I could ever have argued the case better than I did. I did nothing else, but prepare *to* argue and *argue* this case, from Friday morning till Monday evening. Very sorry for the result; but I do not think it could have been prevented.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by family of Mr. Ned Ames Higgins, Washington, D.C.

Nov. 4, 1851.

Dear Mother:

Chapman tell me he wants you to go and live with him. If I were you I would try it awhile. If you get tired of it (as I think you will not) you can return to your own home. Chapman feels very kindly to you; and I have no doubt he will make your situation very pleasant. Sincerely your son,

A. Lincoln.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln.")

Addressed John D. Johnston, Charleston, Coles County, Illinois.

Springfield, November 25, 1851.

John D. Johnston:

Dear Brother: Your letter of the 22d is just received—Your proposal about selling the East forty acres of land is all that I want or could claim for *myself;* but I am not satisfied with it on *Mother's* account—I want her to have her living, and I feel that it is my duty, to some extent, to see that she is not wronged—She had a right of Dower (that is, the use of one-third for life)

in the other two forties; but, it seems, she has already let you take that, hook and line—She now has the use of the whole of the East forty, as long as she lives; and if it be sold, of course she is entitled to the interest on *all* the money it brings, as long as she lives; but you propose to sell it for three hundred dollars, take one hundred away with you, and leave her two hundred at 8 per cent, making her the *enormous* sum of 16 dollars a year—Now, if you are satisfied with treating her in that way, I am not—It is true, that you are to have that forty for two hundred dollars, *at* Mother's death; but you are not to have it *before*. I am confident that land can be made to produce for Mother at least $30 a year, and I can not, to oblige any living person, consent that she shall be put on an allowance of sixteen dollars a year— Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mr. William H. Lambert, Philadelphia, Pa.)

The superscription of the letter is as here printed—but the caption omits the town and state.

Pekin, May 12, 1853.

Mr. Joshua R. Stanford:

Sir:—I hope the subject-matter of this letter will appear a sufficient apology to you for the liberty I, a total stranger, take in addressing you. The persons here holding two lots under a conveyance made by you, as the attorney of Daniel M. Baily, now nearly twenty-two years ago, are in great danger of losing the lots, and very much, perhaps all, is to depend on the testimony you give as to whether you did or did not account to Baily for the proceeds received by you on this sale of the lots. I, therefore, as one of the counsel, beg of you to fully refresh your recollection by any means in your power before the time you may be called on to testify. If persons should come about you, and show a disposition to pump you on the subject, it may be no more than prudent to remember that it may be possible they design to misrepresent you and embarrass the real testimony you may ultimately give. It may be six months or a year before you are called on to testify.

Respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Homer Stanford, of Alton, Ill.)

(Confidential.)

SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 7, 1854.

HON. J. M. PALMER

DEAR SIR: You know how anxious I am that this Nebraska measure shall be rebuked and condemned everywhere— Of course I hope something from your position; yet I do not expect you to do any thing which may be wrong in your own judgment; nor would I have you do anything personally injurious to yourself— You are, and always have been, *honestly* and *sincerely*, a democrat; and I know how painful it must be to an honest sincere man, to be urged by his party to the support of a measure, which in his conscience he believes to be wrong— You have had a severe struggle with yourself, and you have determined *not* to swallow the wrong—Is it not just to yourself that you should, in a few public speeches, state your reasons, and thus justify yourself? I wish you would; and yet I say "don't do it, if you think it will injure you"— You may have given your word to vote for Major Harris; and if so, of course you will stick to it— But allow me to suggest that you should avoid speaking of this; for it probably would induce some of your friends, in like manner, to cast their votes— You understand— And now let me beg your pardon for obtruding this letter upon you, to whom I have ever been opposed in politics— Had your party omitted to make Nebraska a test of party fidelity; you probably would have been the Democratic candidate for congress in the district— You deserved it, and I believe it would have been given you— In that case I should have been quite happy that Nebraska was to be rebuked at all events— I still should have voted for the whig candidate; but I should have made no speeches, written no letters; and you would have been elected by at least a thousand majority—

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. William H. Lambert, Philadelphia, Pa.)

CLINTON, DE WITT CO., Nov. 10, 1854.

MR. CHARLES HOYT.

DEAR SIR: You used to express a good deal of partiality for me, and if you are still so, now is the time. Some friends here are really for me, for the U. S. Senate, and I should be very

grateful if you could make a mark for me among your members. Please write me at all events giving me the names, post-offices, and *"political position"* of members round about you. Direct to Springfield.

Let this be confidential.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. C. L. Hoyt of Aurora, Ill.)

(Copy)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 1, 1854.

J. GILLESPIE, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I have really got it into my head to try to be United States Senator, and, if I could have your support, my chances would be reasonably good. But I know, and acknowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as I have; and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me, if you are thinking of becoming a candidate, yourself. If, however, you are not, then I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the Anti-Nebraska members, down your way.

If you know, and have no objection to tell, let me know whether Trumbull intends to make a push. If he does, I suppose the two men in St. Clair, and one, or both, in Madison, will be for him. We have the legislature, clearly enough, on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me to-day that the Nebraska men will stave off the election, if they can. Even if we get into joint vote, we shall have difficulty to unite our forces. Please write me, and let this be confidential.

Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

Sanford, Porter & Striker, New York City.

SPRINGFIELD, March 10th, 1855.

MESSRS. SANFORD, PORTER AND STRIKER, New York.

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 5th is received, as also was that of 15th Dec. last, inclosing bond of Clift to Pray. When I received the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again.

As I do not practice in Rushville I to-day open a correspond-

ence with Henry E. Dummer, Esq. of Beardstown, Ills., with the view of getting the job into his hands. He is a good man if he will undertake it. Write me whether I shall do this or return the bond to you.

Very respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by the Skaneateles Library, Skaneateles, N. Y.)

Dec. 13, 1855.

Dear Sir: You will confer a favor on me, if you will send me the Congressional "Globe" during the present session. Please have it directed to me.

I will pay for the same when you visit your family.

Yours respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

(Original formerly owned by Col. Thomas Donaldson. Loaned by Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, Pa.)

REPORT MADE BY WILLIAM C. WHITNEY OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN BEFORE THE FIRST REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS HELD AT BLOOMINGTON ON MAY 29, 1856.

(Mr. Whitney's notes were made at the time but not written out until 1896. He does not claim that the speech, as here reported, is literally correct—only that he has followed the argument, and that in many cases the sentences are as Mr. Lincoln spoke them.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I was over at [cries of "Platform!" "Take the platform!"]—I say, that while I was at Danville Court, some of our friends of anti-Nebraska got together in Springfield and elected me as one delegate to represent old Sangamon with them in this convention, and I am here certainly as a sympathizer in this movement and by virtue of that meeting and selection. But we can hardly be called delegates strictly, inasmuch as, properly speaking, we represent nobody but ourselves. I think it altogether fair to say that we have no anti-

* Copyright, 1896, by Sarah A. Whitney.

Nebraska party in Sangamon, although there is a good deal of anti-Nebraska feeling there; but I say for myself, and I think I may speak also for my colleagues, that we who are here fully approve of the platform and of all that has been done [a voice; "Yes!"]; and even if we are not regularly delegates, it will be right for me to answer your call to speak. I suppose we truly stand for the public sentiment of Sangamon on the great question of the repeal, although we do not yet represent many numbers who have taken a distinct position on the question.

We are in a trying time—it ranges above mere party—and this movement to call a halt and turn our steps backward needs all the help and good counsels it can get; for unless popular opinion makes itself very strongly felt, and a change is made in our present course, *blood will flow on account of Nebraska, and brother's hand will be raised against brother!* [The last sentence was uttered in such an earnest, impressive, if not, indeed, tragic, manner, as to make a cold chill creep over me. Others gave a similar experience.]

I have listened with great interest to the earnest appeal made to Illinois men by the gentleman from Lawrence [James S. Emery] who has just addressed us so eloquently and forcibly. I was deeply moved by his statement of the wrongs done to free-State men out there. I think it just to say that all true men North should sympathize with them, and ought to be willing to do any possible and needful thing to right their wrongs. But we must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot; we must be calm and moderate, and consider the whole difficulty, and determine what is possible and just. We must not be led by excitement and passion to do that which our sober judgments would not approve in our cooler moments. We have higher aims; we will have more serious business than to dally with temporary measures.

We are here to stand firmly for a principle—to stand firmly for a right. We know that great political and moral wrongs are done, and outrages committed, and we denounce those wrongs and outrages, although we cannot, at present, do much more. But we desire to reach out beyond those personal outrages and establish a rule that will apply to all, and so prevent any future outrages.

We have seen to-day that every shade of popular opinion is represented here, with *Freedom* or rather *Free-Soil* as the basis.

We have come together as in some sort representatives of popular opinion against the extension of slavery into territory now free in fact as well as by law, and the pledged word of the statesmen of the nation who are now no more. We come—we are here assembled together—to protest as well as we can against a great wrong, and to take measures, as well as we now can, to make that wrong right, to place the nation, as far as it may be possible now, as it was before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and the plain way to do this is to restore the Compromise, and to demand and determine that *Kansas shall be free!* [Immense applause.] While we affirm, and reaffirm, if necessary, our devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, let our practical work here be limited to the above. We know that there is not a perfect agreement of sentiment here on the public questions which might be rightfully considered in this convention, and that the indignation which we all must feel cannot be helped; but all of us must give up something for the good of the cause. There is one desire which is uppermost in the mind, one wish common to us all—to which no dissent will be made; and I counsel you earnestly to bury all resentment, to sink all personal feeling, make all things work to a common purpose in which we are united and agreed about, and which all present will agree is absolutely necessary—which *must* be done by any rightful mode if there be such: *Slavery must be kept out of Kansas!* [Applause.] The test—the pinch—is right there. If we lose Kansas to freedom, an example will be set which will prove fatal to freedom in the end. We, therefore, in the language of the *Bible,* must "lay the axe to the root of the tree." Temporizing will not do longer; now is the time for decision—for firm, persistent, resolute action. [Applause.]

The Nebraska bill, or rather Nebraska law, is not one of wholesome legislation, but was and is an act of legislative usurpation, whose result, if not indeed intention, is to make slavery national; and unless headed off in some effective way, we are in a fair way to see this land of boasted freedom converted into a land of slavery in fact. [Sensation.] Just open your two eyes, and see if this be not so. I need do no more than state, to command universal approval, that almost the entire North, as well as a large following in the border States, is radically opposed to the planting of slavery in free territory. Probably in a popular vote throughout the nation nine-tenths of the voters in the free

States, and at least one-half in the border States, if they could express their sentiments freely, would vote NO on such an issue; and it is safe to say that two-thirds of the votes of the entire nation would be opposed to it. And yet, in spite of this overbalancing of sentiment in this free country, we are in a fair way to see Kansas present itself for admission as a slave State. Indeed, it is a felony, by the local law of Kansas, to deny that slavery exists there even now. By every principle of law, a negro in Kansas is free; yet the *bogus* legislature makes it an infamous crime to tell him that he is free! *

The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty; for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not on any account or for any consideration do otherwise; while men who will march up to the mouth of a loaded cannon without shrinking, will run from the terrible name of "Abolitionist," even when pronounced by a worthless creature whom they, with good reason, despise. For instance—to press this point a little—Judge Douglas introduced his anti-Nebraska bill in January; and we had an extra session of our legislature in the succeeding February, in which were seventy-five Democrats; and at a party caucus, fully attended, there were just three votes out of the whole seventy-five, for the measure. But in a few days orders came on from Washington, commanding them to approve the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus, and passed by a large majority. The masses were against it, but party necessity carried it; and it was passed through the lower house of Congress against the will of the people, for the same reason. Here is where the greatest danger lies—that, while we profess to be a government of law and reason, law will give way to violence on demand of this awful and

* Statutes of Kansas, 1855, Chapter 151, Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate . . . any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of *felony*, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

Sec. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any Sections of this Act

crushing power. Like the great Juggernaut—I think that is the name—the great idol, it crushes everything that comes in its way, and makes a—or as I read once, in a blackletter law book, "a slave is a human being who is legally not a *person* but a *thing*." And if the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made *things* of all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make *things* of poor white men? [Applause.] Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic party declared that *all* men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word "white" before men, making it read "all *white* men are created equal." Pray, will or may not the Know-nothings, if they should get in power, add the word "protestant," making it read *"all protestant white men"?*

Meanwhile the hapless negro is the fruitful subject of reprisals in other quarters. John Pettit, whom Tom Benton paid his respects to, you will recollect, calls the immortal Declaration "a self-evident lie;" while at the birthplace of freedom—in the shadow of Bunker Hill and of the "cradle of liberty," at the home of the Adamses and Warren and Otis—Choate, from our side of the house, dares to fritter away the birthday promise of liberty by proclaiming the Declaration to be "a string of glittering generalities;" and the Southern Whigs, working hand in hand with pro-slavery Democrats, are making Choate's theories practical. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, mindful of the moral element in slavery, solemnly declared that he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just;" while Judge Douglas, with an insignificant wave of the hand, "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down." Now, if slavery is right, or even negative, he has a right to treat it in this trifling manner. But if it is a moral and political wrong, as all Christendom considers it to be, how can he answer to God for this attempt to spread and fortify it? [Applause.]

But no man, and Judge Douglas no more than any other, can maintain a negative, or merely neutral, position on this question; and, accordingly, he avows that the Union was made *by* white men and *for* white men and their descendants. As matter of fact, the first branch of the proposition is historically true; the government was made by white men, and they were and are the superior race. This I admit. But the corner-stone of the government, so to speak, was the declaration that "*all* men are created

equal," and all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Applause.]

And not only so, but the framers of the Constitution were particular to keep out of that instrument the word "slave," the reason being that slavery would ultimately come to an end, and they did not wish to have any reminder that in this free country human beings were ever prostituted to slavery. [Applause.] Nor is it any argument that we are superior and the negro inferior—that he has but one talent while we have ten. Let the negro possess the little he has in independence; if he has but one talent, he should be permitted to keep the little he has. [Applause.] But slavery will endure no test of reason or logic; and yet its advocates, like Douglas, use a sort of bastard logic, or noisy assumption, it might better be termed, like the above, in order to prepare the mind for the gradual, but none the less certain, encroachments of the Moloch of slavery upon the fair domain of freedom. But however much you may argue upon it, or smother it in soft phrase, slavery can only be maintained by force—by violence. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was by violence. It was a violation of both law and the sacred obligations of honor, to overthrow and trample underfoot a solemn compromise, obtained by the fearful loss to freedom of one of the fairest of our Western domains. Congress violated the will and confidence of its constituents in voting for the bill; and while public sentiment, as shown by the elections of 1854, demanded the restoration of this compromise, Congress violated its trust by refusing, simply because it had the force of numbers to hold on to it. And murderous violence is being used now, in order to force slavery on to Kansas; for it cannot be done in any other way. [Sensation.]

The necessary result was to establish the rule of violence—force, instead of the rule of law and reason; to perpetuate and spread slavery, and, in time, to make it general. We see it at both ends of the line. In Washington on the very spot where the outrage was started, the fearless Sumner is beaten to insensibility, and is now slowly dying; while senators who claim to be gentlemen and Christians stood by, countenancing the act, and even applauding it afterward in their places in the Senate. Even Douglas, our man, saw it all and was within helping distance, yet let the murderous blows fall unopposed. Then, at the other end of the line, at the very time Sumner was being mur-

dered, Lawrence was being destroyed for the crime of Freedom. It was the most prominent stronghold of liberty in Kansas, and must give way to the all-dominating power of slavery. Only two days ago, Judge Trumbull found it necessary to propose a bill in the Senate to prevent a general civil war and to restore peace in Kansas.

We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the future; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly the way in which we are going? [Sensation.]

In the early days of the Constitution slavery was recognized, by the South and North alike, as an evil, and the division of sentiment about it was not controlled by geographical lines or considerations of climate, but by moral and philanthropic views. Petitions for the abolition of slavery were presented to the very first Congress by Virginia and Massachusetts alike. To show the harmony which prevailed, I will state that a fugitive slave law was passed in 1793, with no dissenting voice in the Senate, and but seven dissenting votes in the House. It was, however, a wise law, moderate, and, under the Constitution, a just one. Twenty-five years later, a more stringent law was proposed and defeated; and thirty-five years after that, the present law, drafted by Mason of Virginia, was passed by Northern votes. I am not, just now, complaining of this law, but I am trying to show how the current sets; for the proposed law of 1817 was far less offensive than the present one. In 1774 the Continental Congress pledged itself, without a dissenting vote, to wholly discontinue the slave trade, and to neither purchase nor import any slave; and less than three months before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the same Congress which adopted that declaration unanimously resolved "that *no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies.*" [Great applause.]

On the second day of July, 1776, the draft of a Declaration of Independence was reported to Congress by the committee, and in it the slave trade was characterized as "an execrable commerce," as "a piratical warfare," as the "opprobrium of infidel powers," and as "a cruel war against human nature." [Applause.] All agreed on this except South Carolina and Georgia, and in order to preserve harmony, and from the necessity of the case, these expressions were omitted. Indeed, abolition societies

existed as far south as Virginia; and it is a well-known fact that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lee, Henry, Mason, and Pendleton were qualified abolitionists, and much more radical on that subject than we of the Whig and Democratic parties claim to be to-day. On March 1, 1874, Virginia ceded to the confederation all its lands lying northwest of the Ohio River. Jefferson, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, as a committee on that and territory thereafter *to be ceded,* reported that no slavery should exist after the year 1800. Had this report been adopted, not only the Northwest, but Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi also would have been free; but it required the assent of nine States to ratify it. North Carolina was divided, and thus its vote was lost; and Delaware, Georgia, and New Jersey refused to vote. In point of fact, as it was, it was assented to by six States. Three years later, on a square vote to exclude slavery from the Northwest, only one vote, and that from New York, was against it. And yet, thirty-seven years later, five thousand citizens of Illinois out of a voting mass of less than twelve thousand, deliberately, after a long and heated contest, voted to introduce slavery in Illinois; and, to-day, a large party in the free State of Illinois are willing to vote to fasten the shackles of slavery on the fair domain of Kansas, notwithstanding it received the dowry of freedom long before its birth as a political community. I repeat, therefore, the question: Is it not plain in what direction we are tending? [Sensation.] In the colonial time, Mason, Pendleton, and Jefferson were as hostile to slavery in Virginia as Otis, Ames, and the Adamses were in Massachusetts; and Virginia made as earnest an effort to get rid of it as old Massachusetts did. But circumstances were against them and they failed; but not that the good will of its leading men was lacking. Yet within less than fifty years Virginia changed its tune, and made negro-breeding for the cotton and sugar States one of its leading industries. [Laughter and applause.]

In the Constitutional Convention, George Mason of Virginia made a more violent abolition speech than my friends Lovejoy or Codding would desire to make here to-day—a speech which could not be safely repeated anywhere on Southern soil in this enlightened year. But while there were some differences of opinion on this subject even then, discussion was allowed; but as you see by the Kansas slave code, which, as you know, is the

Missouri slave code, merely ferried across the river, it is a felony to even express an opinion hostile to that foul blot in the land of Washington and the Declaration of Independence. [Sensation.]

In Kentucky—my State—in 1849, on a test vote, the mighty influence of Henry Clay and many other good men there could not get a symptom of expression in favor of gradual emancipation on a plain issue of marching toward the light of civilization with Ohio and Illinois; but the State of Boone and Hardin and Henry Clay, with a *nigger* under each arm, took the black trail toward the deadly swamps of barbarism. Is there—can there be—any doubt about this thing? And is there any doubt that we must all lay aside our prejudices and march, shoulder to shoulder, in the great army of Freedom? [Applause.]

Every Fourth of July our young orators all proclaim this to be "the land of the *free* and the home of the brave!" Well, now, when you orators get that off next year, and, may be, this very year, how would you like some old grizzled farmer to get up in the grove and deny it? [Laughter.] How would you like that? But suppose Kansas comes in as a slave State, and all the "border ruffians" have barbecues about it, and free-State men come trailing back to the dishonored North, like whipped dogs with their tails between their legs, it is—ain't it?—evident that this is no more the "land of the free;" and if we let it go so, we won't dare to say "home of the brave" out loud. [Sensation and confusion.]

Can any man doubt that, even in spite of the people's will, slavery will triumph through violence, unless that will be made manifest and enforced? Even Governor Reeder claimed at the outset that the contest in Kansas was to be fair, but he got his eyes open at last; and I believe that, as a result of this moral and physical violence, Kansas will soon apply for admission as a slave State. And yet we can't mistake that the people don't want it so, and that it is a land which is free both by natural and political law. *No law, is free law!* Such is the understanding of all Christendom. In the Somerset case, decided nearly a century ago, the great Lord Mansfield held that slavery was of such a nature that it must take its rise in *positive* (as distinguished from *natural*) law; and that in no country or age could it be traced back to any other source. Will some one please tell me where is the *positive* law that establishes slavery in Kansas?

[A voice: "The *bogus* laws."] Aye, the *bogus* laws! And, on the same principle, a gang of Missouri horse-thieves could come into Illinois and declare horse-stealing to be legal [Laughter], and it would be just as legal as slavery is in Kansas. But by express statute, in the land of Washington and Jefferson, we may soon be brought face to face with the discreditable fact of showing to the world by our acts that we prefer slavery to freedom—darkness to light! [Sensation.]

It is, I believe, a principle in law that when one party to a contract violates it so grossly as to chiefly destroy the object for which it is made, the other party may rescind it. I will ask Browning if that ain't good law. [Voices: "Yes!"] Well, now if that be right, I go for rescinding the whole, entire Missouri Compromise and thus turning Missouri into a free State; and I should like to know the difference—should like for any one to point out the difference—between *our* making a free State of Missouri and *their* making a slave State of Kansas. [Great applause.] There ain't one bit of difference, except that our way would be a great mercy to humanity. But I have never said—and the Whig party has never said—and those who oppose the Nebraska bill do not as a body say, that they have any intention of interfering with slavery in the slave States. Our platform says just the contrary. We allow slavery to exist in the slave States,—not because slavery is right or good, but from the necessities of our Union. We grant a fugitive slave law because it is so "nominated in the bond;" because our fathers so stipulated —had to—and we are bound to carry out this agreement. But they did not agree to introduce slavery in regions where it did not previously exist. On the contrary, they said by their example and teachings that they did not deem it expedient—did not consider it right—to do so; and it is wise and right to do just as they did about it [Voices: "Good!"], and that is what we propose—not to interfere with slavery where it exists (we have never tried to do it), and to give them a reasonable and efficient fugitive slave law. [A voice: "No!"] I say YES! [Applause.] It was part of the bargain, and I'm for living up to it; but I go no further; I'm not bound to do more, and I won't agree any further. [Great applause.]

We, here in Illinois, should feel especially proud of the provision of the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from what is now Kansas; for an Illinois man, Jesse B. Thomas, was its

father. Henry Clay, who is credited with the authorship of the Compromise in general terms, did not even vote for that provision, but only advocated the ultimate admission by a second compromise; and Thomas was, beyond all controversy, the real author of the "slavery restriction" branch of the Compromise. To show the generosity of the Northern members toward the Southern side: on a test vote to exclude slavery from Missouri, ninety voted not to exclude, and eighty-seven to exclude, every vote from the slave States being ranged with the former and fourteen votes from the free States, of whom seven were from New England alone; while on a vote to exclude slavery from what is now Kansas, the vote was one hundred and thirty-four *for*, to forty-two *against*. The scheme, as a whole, was, of course, a Southern triumph. It is idle to contend otherwise, as is now being done by the Nebraskites; it was so shown by the votes and quite as emphatically by the expressions of representative men. Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina was never known to commit a political mistake; his was the great judgment of that section; and he declared that this measure "would restore tranquillity to the country—a result demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virtue." When the measure came before President Monroe for his approval, he put to each member of his cabinet this question: "Has Congress the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in a territory?" And John C. Calhoun and William H. Crawford from the South, equally with John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Smith Thompson from the North, alike answered, "*Yes!*" without qualification or equivocation; and this measure, of so great consequence to the South, was passed; and Missouri was, by means of it, finally enabled to knock at the door of the Republic for an open passage to its brood of slaves. And, in spite of this, Freedom's share is about to be taken by violence—by the force of misrepresentative votes, not called for by the popular will. What name can I, in common decency, give to this wicked transaction? [Sensation.]

But even then the contest was not over; for when the Missouri constitution came before Congress for its approval, it forbade any free negro or mulatto from entering the State. In short, our Illinois "black laws" were hidden away in their constitution [laughter], and the controversy was thus revived. Then it was that Mr. Clay's talents shone out conspicuously, and the contro-

versy that shook the Union to its foundation was finally settled to the satisfaction of the conservative parties on both sides of the line, though not to the extremists on either, and Missouri was admitted by the small majority of six in the lower House. How great a majority, do you think, would have been given had Kansas also been secured for slavery? [A voice: "A majority the other way."] "A majority the other way," is answered. Do you think it would have been safe for a Northern man to have confronted his constituents after having voted to consign both Missouri and Kansas to hopeless slavery? And yet this man Douglas, who misrepresents his constituents and who has exerted his highest talents in that direction, will be carried in triumph through the State and hailed with honor while applauding that act. [Three groans for *"Dug!"*] And this shows whither we are tending. This thing of slavery is more powerful than its supporters—even than the high priests that minister at its altar. It debauches even our greatest men. It gathers strength, like a rolling snow-ball, by its own infamy. Monstrous crimes are committed in its name by persons collectively which they would not dare to commit as individuals. Its aggressions and encroachments almost surpass belief. In a despotism, one might not wonder to see slavery advance steadily and remorselessly into new dominions; but is it not wonderful, is it not even alarming, to see its steady advance in a land dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal?" [Sensation.]

It yields nothing itself; it keeps all it has, and gets all it can besides. It really came dangerously near securing Illinois in 1824; it did get Missouri in 1821. The first proposition was to admit what is now Arkansas *and* Missouri as one slave State. But the territory was divided and Arkansas came in, without serious question, as a slave State; and afterwards Missouri, not as a sort of equality, *free,* but also as a slave State. Then we had Florida and Texas; and now Kansas is about to be forced into the dismal procession. [Sensation.] And so it is wherever you look. We have not forgotten—it is but six years since—how dangerously near California came to being a slave State. Texas is a slave State, and four other slave States may be carved from its vast domain. And yet, in the year 1829, slavery was abolished throughout that vast region by a royal decree of the then sovereign of Mexico. Will you please tell me by what *right* slavery exists in Texas to-day? By the same

right as, and no higher or greater than, slavery is seeking dominion in Kansas: by political force—peaceful, if that will suffice; by the torch (as in Kansas) and the bludgeon (as in the Senate chamber), if required. And so history repeats itself; and even as slavery has kept its course by craft, intimidation, and violence in the past, so it will persist, in my judgment, until met and dominated by the will of a people bent on its restriction.

We have, this very afternoon, heard bitter denunciations of Brooks in Washington, and Titus, Stringfellow, Atchison, Jones, and Shannon in Kansas—the battle-ground of slavery. I certainly am not going to advocate or shield them; but they and their acts are but the necessary outcome of the Nebraska law. We should reserve our highest censure for the authors of the mischief, and not for the catspaws which they use. I believe it was Shakespeare who said, "Where the offence lies, there let the axe fall;" and, in my opinion, this man Douglas and the Northern men in Congress who advocate "Nebraska" are more guilty than a thousand Joneses and Stringfellows, with all their murderous practices, can be. [Applause.]

We have made a good beginning here to-day. As our Methodist friends would say, "I feel it is good to be here." While extremists may find some fault with the moderation of our platform, they should recollect that "the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift." In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism; and as this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not, by our action, repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we can to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition—that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administration and the political power; and, right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. Our friends who urge an appeal to arms with so much force and eloquence, should recollect that the government is arrayed against us, and that the numbers are now arrayed against us as well; or, to state it nearer to the truth, they are not yet expressly and affirmatively for us; and we should repel friends rather than gain them by anything savoring of revolutionary methods. As it now stands, we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow

strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. Slavery is a violation of the eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition; but *as sure as God reigns and school children read,* THAT BLACK FOUL LIE CAN NEVER BE CONSECRATED INTO GOD'S HALLOWED TRUTH! [Immense applause lasting some time.] One of our greatest difficulties is that men who *know* that slavery is a detestable crime and ruinous to the nation, are compelled, by our peculiar condition and other circumstances, to advocate it concretely, though damning it in the raw, Henry Clay was a brilliant example of this tendency; others of our purest statesmen are compelled to do so; and thus slavery secures actual support from those who detest it at heart. Yet Henry Clay perfected and forced through the Compromise which secured to slavery a great State as well as a political advantage. Not that he hated slavery less, but that he loved the whole Union more. As long as slavery profited by his great Compromise, the hosts of pro-slavery could not sufficiently cover him with praise; but now that this Compromise stands in their way—

> ". . . they never mention him,
> His name is never heard:
> Their lips are now forbid to speak
> That once familiar word."

They have slaughtered one of his most cherished measures, and his ghost would arise to rebuke them. [Great applause.]

Now, let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people: to the sober second thought; to the awakened public conscience. The repeal of the sacred Missouri Compromise has installed the weapons of violence: the bludgeon, the incendiary torch, the death-dealing rifle, the bristling cannon—the weapons of kingcraft, of the inquisition, of ignorance, of barbarism, of oppression. We see its fruits in the dying bed of the heroic Sumner; in the ruins of the "Free State" hotel; in the smoking embers of the "Herald of Freedom"; in the free-State Governor of Kansas chained to a stake on freedom's soil like a horse-thief, for the crime of freedom. [Ap-

plause.] We see it in Christian statesmen, and Christian newspapers, and Christian pulpits applauding *the cowardly act of a low bully,* WHO CRAWLED UPON HIS VICTIM BEHIND HIS BACK AND DEALT THE DEADLY BLOW. [Sensation and applause.] We note our political demoralization in the catch-words that are coming into such common use; on the one hand, "freedom-shriekers," and sometimes "freedom-screechers" [Laughter]; and, on the other hand, "border ruffians," and that fully deserved. And the significance of catch-words cannot pass unheeded, for they constitute a sign of the times. Everything in this world "jibes" in with everything else, and all the fruits of this Nebraska bill are like the poisoned source from which they come. I will not say that we may not sooner or later be compelled to meet force by force; but the time has not yet come, and if we are true to ourselves, may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore let the legions of slavery use bullets; but let us wait patiently till November and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy, I believe we shall ultimately win. [Applause.]

It was by that policy that here in Illinois the early fathers fought the good fight and gained the victory. In 1824 the free men of our State, led by Governor Coles (who was a native of Maryland and President Madison's private secretary), determined that those beautiful groves should never reëcho the dirge of one who has no title to himself. By their resolute determination, the winds that sweep across our broad prairies shall never cool the parched brow, nor shall the unfettered streams that bring joy and gladness to our free soil water the tired feet, of a *slave;* but so long as those heavenly breezes and sparkling streams bless the land, or the groves and their fragrance or memory remain, the humanity to which they minister [ALL BE FOREVER FREE! [Great applause.] Palmer, Yates, Williams, Browning, and some more in this convention came from Kentucky to Illinois (instead of going to Missouri), not only to better their conditions, but also to get away from slavery. They have said so to me, and it is understood among us Kentuckians that we don't like it one bit. Now, can we, mindful of the blessings of liberty which the early men of Illinois left to us, refuse a like privilege to the free men who seek to plant Freedom's banner on our Western outposts? ["No! No!"] Should we not stand by our neighbors who seek to better their conditions in Kansas and

Nebraska? ["Yes!" "Yes!"] Can we as Christian men, and strong and free ourselves, wield the sledge or hold the iron which is to manacle anew an already oppressed race? ["No! No!"] "Woe unto them," it is written, "that decree unrighteous decrees and that write grievousness which they have perscribed." Can we afford to sin any more deeply against human liberty? ["No! No!"]

One great trouble in the matter is, that slavery is an insidious and crafty power, and gains equally by open violence of the brutal as well as by sly management of the peaceful. Even after the ordinance of 1787, the settlers in Indiana and Illinois (it was all one government then) tried to get Congress to allow slavery temporarily, and petitions to that end were sent from Kaskaskia, and General Harrison, the Governor, urged it from Vincennes, the capital. If that had succeeded, good-by to liberty here. But John Randolph of Virginia made a vigorous report against it; and although they persevered so well as to get three favorable reports for it, yet the United States Senate, with the aid of some slave States, finally *squelched* it for good. [Applause.] And that is why this hall is to-day a temple for free men instead of a negro livery stable. [Great applause and laughter.] Once let slavery get planted in a locality, by ever so weak or doubtful a title, and in ever so small numbers, and it is like the Canada thistle or Bermuda grass—you can't root it out. You yourself may detest slavery; but your neighbor has five or six slaves, and he is an excellent neighbor, or your son has married his daughter, and they beg you to help save their property, and you vote against your interest and principles to accommodate a neighbor, hoping that your vote will be on the losing side. And others do the same; and in those ways slavery gets a sure foothold. And when that is done the whole mighty Union—the force of the nation—is committed to its support. And that very process is working in Kansas to-day. And you must recollect that the slave property is worth a billion of dollars ($1,000,000,000); while free-State men must work for sentiment alone. Then there are "blue lodges"—as they call them—everywhere doing their secret and deadly work.

It is a very strange thing, and not solvable by any moral law that I know of, that if a man loses his horse, the whole country will turn out to help hang the thief; but if a man but a shade or two darker than I am is himself stolen, the same crowd will

hang one who aids in restoring him to liberty. Such are the inconsistencies of slavery, where a horse is more sacred than a man; and the essence of *squatter* or popular sovereignty—I I don't care how you call it—is that if one man chooses to make a slave of another, no third man shall be allowed to object. And if you can do this in free Kansas, and it is allowed to stand, the next thing you will see is ship loads of negroes from Africa at the wharf at Charleston; for one thing is as truly lawful as the other; and these are the bastard notions we have got to stamp out, else they will stamp us out. [Sensation and applause.]

Two years ago, at Springfield, Judge Douglas avowed that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State, and that slavery was weeded out by the operation of his great, patent, everlasting principle of "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.] Well, now, that argument must be answered, for it has a little grain of truth at the bottom. I do not mean that it is true in essence, as he would have us believe. It could not be essentially true if the ordinance of '87 was valid. But, in point of fact, there were some degraded beings called slaves in Kaskaskia and the other French settlements when our first State constitution was adopted; that is a fact, and I don't deny it. Slaves were brought here as early as 1720, and were kept here in spite of the ordinance of 1787 against it. But slavery did not thrive here. On the contrary, under the influence of the ordinance, the number *decreased* fifty-one from 1810 to 1820; while under the influence of *squatter* sovereignty, right across the river in Missouri, they *increased* seven thousand two hundred and eleven in the same time; and slavery finally faded out in Illinois, under the influence of the law of freedom, while it grew stronger and stronger in Missouri, under the law or practice of "popular sovereignty." In point of fact there were but one hundred and seventeen slaves in Illinois one year after its admission, or one to every four hundred and seventy of its population; or, to state it in another way, if Illinois was a slave State in 1820, so were New York and New Jersey much greater slave States from having had greater numbers, slavery having been established there in very early times. But there is this vital difference between all these States and the judge's Kansas experiment; that they sought to disestablish slavery which had been already established, while the judge seeks, so far as he can, to disestablish freedom, which had been established there by the Missouri Compromise. [Voices: "Good!"]

The Union is undergoing a fearful strain; but it is a stout old ship, and has weathered many a hard blow, and "the stars in their courses," aye, an invisible power, greater than the puny efforts of men, will fight for us. But we ourselves must not decline the burden of responsibility, nor take counsel of unworthy passions. Whatever duty urges us to do or to omit, must be done or omitted; and the recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws, or counsel their violation, should afford no example for us. Therefore, let us revere the Declaration of Independence; let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws; let us keep step to the music of the Union. Let us draw a cordon, so to speak, around the slave States, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy. [Applause.]

But we cannot be free men if this is, by our national choice, to be a land of slavery. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. [Loud applause.]

Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downwards? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesmen of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia! and, as I have said, now even in "free Kansas" it is a crime to declare that it is "free Kansas." The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered, would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon; and yet I suppose that, like Paul, we were "free born." But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois. [Sensation.]

The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* [Great applause.] We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word *slave* ought not to appear in the Constitution;" and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slaveholder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the "flag of our Union," and no

matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the Compromise—WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHAN'T!!! [This was the climax; the audience rose to its feet *en masse,* applauded, stamped, waved handkerchiefs, threw hats in the air, and ran riot for several minutes. The arch-enchanter who wrought this transformation looked, meanwhile, like the personification of political justice.]

But let us, meanwhile, appeal, to the sense and patriotism of the people, and not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies, so suggestive of freedom. Let us commence by electing the gallant soldier Governor (Colonel) Bissell who stood for the honor of our State alike on the plains and amidst the chaparral of Mexico and on the floor of Congress, while he defied the Southern Hotspur; and that will have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids on Kansas. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, WE MUST MAKE AN APPEAL TO BATTLE AND TO THE GOD OF HOSTS!! [Immense applause and a rush for the orator.]

As the above report of Mr. Lincoln's so-called "Lost Speech" has been from the time of its first publication in "McClure's Magazine" a matter of controversy among Lincoln students, especially in Illinois, and as the McLean County Historical Society in its report of the commemoration of the speech, held in Bloomington, Ill., in 1900 says: "In this community where many are now living who heard the great speech and where Mr. Lincoln was so well known and loved, all of his friends consider this speech still lost," we are publishing here in full Mr. Joseph Medill's opinion of the report.

Mr. Medill was probably as well qualified to have an opinion as any man who heard the speech. As stated in the text of this life of Lincoln, he was at the time a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, an ardent supporter of Lincoln, and later one of the factors in securing his

nomination and election to the presidency. He came to be the editor of the Chicago Tribune and in 1896 while he was still in that position, the report of the speech was submitted to him. In replying he gave his judgment of the document as well as probably the best account of the convention that has come down to us from those who were present.

"You invited my attention recently to H. C. Whitney's report of the great, radical 'Anti-Nebraska' speech of Mr. Lincoln, delivered in Bloomington, May 29, 1856, before the first Republican State Convention of Illinois; and as I was present as a delegate and heard it you ask me to state how accurately, according to my best recollection, it is reproduced in his report.

I have carefully and reflectively read it, and taking into account that Mr. Whitney did not take down the speech stenographically, but only took notes and afterwards wrote them out in full, he has reproduced with remarkable accuracy what Mr. Lincoln said, largely in his identical language and partly in synonymous terms. The report is close enough in thought and word to recall the wonderful speech delivered forty years ago with vivid freshness. No one was expecting a great speech at the time. We all knew that he could say something worthy of the occasion, but nobody anticipated such a Demosthenean outburst of oratory. There was great political excitement at the time in Illinois and all over the old North West growing out of the efforts of the South to introduce slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. The Free Soil men were highly wrought up in opposition, and Mr. Lincoln partook of their feelings.

"I am unable to point out those sentences and parts of the reported speech which vary most in phraseology from the precise language he used, because there is an approximation of his words in every part of it. The ideas uttered are all there. The sequence of argument is accurately given. The invectives hurled at pro-slavery aggression are not exaggerated in the report of the speech. Some portions of the argument citing pro-slavery aggressions seem rather more elaborate than he delivered; but he was speaking under a high degree of excitement and the convention was in a responsive mood, and it is impossible to be certain about it. The least that can be said is, that the Whitney

report not being shorthand is yet a remarkably good one and is the only one in existence that reproduces the speech.

"During all the preceding year the public mind of the West had been lashed into a high state of commotion over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise the year before, which had excluded the introduction of slavery into all territory north of 36.30 degrees. Taking advantage of the repeal the slaveholders of Missouri and other slave states, aided by the Administration of Franklin Pierce, were striving to convert Kansas and Nebraska into slave states. This bad work was carried on actively in the spring of 1856. Many houses of the free state men of the new city of Lawrence, including their hotel, were burnt. Printing offices were destroyed; store goods were carried off; horses and cattle were stolen; sharp fights were taking place; men were being killed and civil war was raging in 'bleeding Kansas.' In Washington, Brooks of South Carolina entered the Senate chamber and nearly clubbed to death Senator Sumner of Massachusetts.* Judge Trumbull offered a resolution in the Senate to prevent civil war in Kansas.

"While this state of things was going on the first State Republican Convention ever held in Illinois, assembled in Bloomington, May 29, 1856. It was composed of Abolitionists, Free Soil Whigs and 'Anti-Nebraska' Democrats. Owen Lovejoy embodied the first named. Abraham Lincoln and John M. Palmer, the second and third elements—the whole united made the new Republican Party which has dominated the state ever since, though Palmer, now Senator, returned to the Democratic Party, taking Trumbull with him, several years ago.

"At this Bloomington Republican Convention delegates were appointed who voted to nominate Frémont for President. Abraham Lincoln was placed at the head of the State electoral ticket, and Col. Bissell (of the Mexican War) was nominated for Governor, and free soil resolutions were passed. Mr. John M. Palmer presided and made a stirring free soil speech. Mr. Lincoln, who was a delegate, counseled every step that was taken, in his quiet, persuasive way. A sharp dispute broke out in the Platform Committee between the radicals led by the

* Mr. Medill might have added here that Paul Selby, who had been working in Illinois for two years to secure this convention had, a few days before, been so badly beaten by his political opponents in Jacksonville that he was at home in bed instead of on the floor of Major's Hall in Bloomington.

Abolitionist Owen Lovejoy (afterwards M. C.) and O. H. Browning (afterwards Senator and Secretary of the Interior) leading the conservatives. Lincoln acted as a peacemaker and counselor. He advised the committee to endorse 'the Declaration of Independence and the rights of man, and to declare that in accordance with the opinions and practises of the great statesmen of all parties for the past sixty years, Congress possessed full constitutional power to prohibit slavery in all territories and that such power should be exerted to prevent such extension,' which was done. Mr. Browning (Conservative) was allowed to add some high sounding platitudes to the platform. He made the opening speech in the convention and delivered it in a courtly manner and orotund voice, advising great moderation, and invoking the convention 'to ever remember that slavery itself was one of the compromises of the Constitution and was sacredly protected by the Supreme Law.' He was followed by the radical, Owen Lovejoy, in a terrific declamation against slavery and all its works.

"Mr. Emery, a 'Free State' man just from 'bleeding Kansas,' told of the 'border ruffian' raids from Missouri upon the Free State settlers in Kansas; the burnings, robberies and murders they were then committing, and asked for help to repel them.

"When he finished Lincoln was vociferously called for from all parts of Major's large hall. He came forward and took the platform beside the presiding officer. At first his voice was shrill and hesitating. There was a curious introspective look in his eyes, which lasted for a few moments. Then his voice began to move steadily and smoothly forward. And the modulations were under perfect control from thenceforward to the finish. He warmed up as he went on and spoke more rapidly; he looked a foot taller as he straightened himself to his full height, and his eyes flashed fire, his countenance became wrapped in intense emotion; he rushed along like a thunder storm. He prophesied war as the outcome of these aggressions and poured forth hot denunciations upon the slave power. The convention was kept in an uproar applauding and cheering and stamping; and this reacted on the speaker and gave him a tongue of fire. The thrilling scene in that old Bloomington hall forty years ago arises in my mind as vividly as the day after its enactment.

"There stood Lincoln in the forefront, erect, tall and majestic in appearance, hurling thunderbolts at the foes of freedom.

while the great convention roared its endorsement! I never witnessed such a scene before or since. As he described the aims and aggressions of the unappeasable slave holders and the servility of their Northern allies as illustrated by the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise two years previously, and their grasping after the rich prairies of Kansas and Nebraska to blight them with slavery and to deprive free labor of this rich inheritance, and exhorted the friends of freedom to resist them to the death—the convention went fairly wild. It paralleled or exceeded the scene in the revolutionary Virginia convention of eighty-one years before when Patrick Henry invoked death if liberty could not be preserved and saying, 'After all we must fight.' Strange, too, that this same man received death a few years afterwards while conferring freedom on the slave race and preserving the American Union from dismemberment.

"While Mr. Lincoln did not write out even a memorandum of his Bloomington speech beforehand neither was it extemporary. He intended days before to make it, and coined it over in his mind in outline and gathered his facts and arranged his arguments in regular order and trusted to the inspiration of the occasion to furnish him the diction with which to clothe the skeleton of his great oration. It is difficult to name any speech by another orator delivered on the same subject about that time or subsequently that equalled it—not excepting those made by Sumner, Seward or Chase, in strength of argument or dramatic power.

"It was my journalistic duty, though a delegate to the convention, to make a 'long-hand' report of the speeches delivered for The Chicago Tribune. I did make a few paragraphs of report of what Lincoln said in the first eight or ten minutes, but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes; and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping and clapping to the end of his speech.

"I well remember that after Lincoln had sat down and calm had succeeded the tempest, I waked out of a sort of hypnotic trance, and then thought of my report for The Tribune. There was nothing written but an abbreviated introduction.

"It was some sort of satisfaction to find that I had not been 'scooped,' as all the newspaper men present had been equally carried away by the excitement caused by the wonderful oration and had made no report or sketch of the speech.

"It was fortunate, however, that a cool-nerved young lawyer

and ardent friend of Lincoln's who was present, with nimble fingers took down so much of the exact words as they fell from the great orator's lips that he was afterwards able to reproduce the speech almost identically as it was uttered, and has thus saved it to posterity.

"Mr. Lincoln was strongly urged by party friends to write out his speech to be used as a campaign document for the Frémont presidential contect of that year; but he declared that 'it would be impossible for him to recall the language he used on that occasion, as he had spoken under some excitement.'

"My belief is, that after Mr. Lincoln cooled down he was rather pleased that his speech had not been reported, as it was too radical in expression on the slavery question for the digestion of Central and Southern Illinois at that time, and that he preferred to let it stand as a remembrance in the minds of his audience. But be that as it may, the effect of it was such on his hearers that he bounded to the leadership of the new Republican Party of Illinois, and no man afterwards ever thought of disputing that position with him. On that occasion he planted the seed which germinated into a presidential candidacy and that gave him the nomination over Seward at the Chicago convention of 1860, which placed him in the Presidential chair, there to complete his predestined work of destroying slavery and making freedom universal, but yielding his life as a sacrifice for the glorious deeds."

William Grimes.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, July 12, 1856.

Yours of the 29th of June was duly received. I did not answer it because it plagued me. This morning I received another from Judd and Peck, written by consultation with you. Now let me tell you why I am plagued:

1. I can hardly spare the time.

2. I am superstitious. I have scarcely known a party preceding an election to call in help from the neighboring States, but they lost the State. Last fall, our friends had Wade, of Ohio, and others, in Maine; and they lost the State. Last spring, our adversaries had New Hampshire full of South Carolinians, and they lost the State. And so, generally, it seems to stir up more enemies than friends.

Have the enemy called in any foreign help? If they have a

foreign champion there, I should have no objection to drive a nail in his track. I shall reach Chicago on the night of the 15th, to attend to a little business in court. Consider the things I have suggested, and write me at Chicago. Especially write me whether Browning consents to visit you.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

(From "Life of Wm. Grimes," by Salter.)

(Private.)

Springfield, Ill., February 20, 1857.

John E. Rosette, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Your note about the little paragraph in the "Republican" was received yesterday, since which time I have been too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or approved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by the conversation with me that I thought the establishment of the paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obsacle in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking and paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to my house, my wife said to me, "Now are you going to take another worthless little paper?" I said to her *evasively*, "I have not directed the paper to be left." From this, in my absence, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole story.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln.")

To William Grimes.

Springfield, Illinois, August, 1857.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th is received, and I am much obliged for the legal information you give.

You can scarcely be more anxious than I that the next election in Iowa should result in favor of the Republicans. I lost nearly all the working-part of last year, giving my time to the canvass; and I am altogether too poor to lose two years together. I am engaged in a suit in the United States Court at Chicago, in which the Rock Island Bridge Company is a party. The trial is to commence on the 8th of September, and probably will last two or three weeks. During the trial it is not improbable that all hands may come over and take a look at the bridge, and, if it were pos-

sible to make it hit right, I could then speak at Davenport. My courts go right on without cessation till late in November. Write me again, pointing out the more striking points of difference between your old and new constitutions, and also whether Democratic and Republican party lines were drawn in the adoption of it, and which were for and which were against it. If, by possibility, I could get over among you it might be of some advantage to know these things in advance.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From "Life of Wm. Grimes," by Salter.)

LINCOLN'S ARGUMENT IN THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE CASE

From "The Daily Press" of Chicago, Sept. 24, 1857

THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE CASE.

HURD ET AL.
vs.
RAILROAD BRIDGE CO.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT,
HON. JOHN MCCLEAN, Presiding Judge.
13th day, Tuesday, Sept. 22nd, 1857.

HONORABLE ABRAM LINCOLN'S ARGUMENT

Mr. A. Lincoln addressed the jury. He said he did not purpose to assail anybody, that he expected to grow earnest as he proceeded but not ill natured. "There is some conflict of testimony in the case," he said, "but one quarter of such a number of witnesses seldom agree and even if all were on one side, some discrepancy might be expected. We are to try and reconcile them, and to believe that they are not intentionally erroneous as long as we can." He had no prejudice, he said, against steam boats or steamboatmen nor any against St. Louis for he supposed they went about this matter as other people would do in

their situation. "St. Louis," he continued, "as a commercial place may desire that this bridge should not stand as it is adverse to her commerce, diverting a portion of it from the river; and it may be that she supposes that the additional cost of railroad transportation upon the productions of Iowa will force them to go to St. Louis if this bridge is removed. The meetings in St. Louis are connected with this case only as some witnesses are in it and thus has some prejudice added color to their testimony."

The last thing that would be pleasing to him, Mr. Lincoln said, would be to have one of these great channels extending almost from where it never freezes to where it never thaws blocked up but there is a travel from east to west whose demands are not less important than that of those of the river. It is growing larger and larger, building up new countries with a rapidity never before seen in the history of the world. He alluded to the astonishing growth of Illinois having grown within his memory to a population of a million and a half; to Iowa and the other young rising communities of the northwest.

"This current of travel," said he, "has its rights as well as that of north and south. If the river had not the advantage in priority and legislation we could enter into free competition with it and we could surpass it. This particular railroad line has a great importance and the statement of its business during a little less than a year shows this importance. It is in evidence that from September 8th, 1856, to August 8th, 1857, 12,586 freight cars and 74,179 passengers passed over this bridge. Navigation was closed four days short of four months last year, and during this time while the river was of no use this road and bridge were valuable. There is too a considerable portion of time when floating or thin ice makes the river useless while the bridge is as useful as ever. This shows that this bridge must be treated with respect in this court and is not to be kicked about with contempt. The other day Judge Wead alluded to the strike of the contending interest and even a dissolution of the Union. The proper mode for all parties in this affair is to 'live and let live' and then we will find a cessation of this trouble about the bridge. What mood were the steamboat men in when this bridge was burned? Why there was a shouting and ringing of bells and whistling on all the boats as it fell. It was a jubilee, a greater celebration than follows an excited election. The first thing I

will proceed to is the record of Mr. Gurney and the complaint of Judge Wead that the record did not extend back over all the time from the completion of the bridge. The principal part of the navigation after the bridge was burned passed through the span. When the bridge was repaired and the boats were a second time confined to the draw it was provided that this record should be kept. That is the simple history of that book.

"From April 19th, 1856, to May 6th—seventeen days—there were twenty accidents and all the time since then there have been but twenty hits, including seven accidents, so that the dangers of this place are tapering off and as the boatmen get cool the accidents get less. We may soon expect if this ratio is kept up that there will be no accidents at all.

"Judge Wead said while admitting that the floats went straight through there was a difference between a float and a boat, but I do not remember that he indulged us with an argument in support of this statement. Is it because there is a difference in size? Will not a small body and a large one float the same way under the same influence? True a flat boat will float faster than an egg shell and the egg shell might be blown away by the wind, but if under the *same influence* they would go the same way. Logs, floats, boards, various things the witnesses say all show the same current. Then is not this test reliable? At all depths too the direction of the current is the same. A series of these floats would make a line as long as a boat and would show any influence upon any part and all parts of the boat.

"I will now speak of the angular position of the piers. What is the amount of the angle? The course of the river is a curve and the pier is straight. If a line is produced from the upper end of the long pier straight with the pier to a distance of 350 feet and a line is drawn from a point in the channel opposite this point to the head of the pier, Colonel Nason says they will form an angle of twenty degrees. But the angle if measured at the pier is seven degrees, that is, we would have to move the pier seven degrees to make it exactly straight with the current. Would that make the navigation better or worse? The witnesses of the plaintiff seem to think it was only necessary to say that the pier formed an angle with the current and that settled the matter. Our more careful and accurate witnesses say that though they had been accustomed to seeing the piers placed straight with the current, yet they could see that here the current had

been made straight by us in having made this slight angle; that the water now runs just right, that it is straight and cannot be improved. They think that if the pier was changed the eddy would be divided and the navigation improved.

"I am not now going to discuss the question what is a material obstruction. We do not greatly differ about the law. The cases produced here are I suppose proper to be taken into consideration by the court in instructing a jury. Some of them I think are not exactly in point, but I am still willing to trust his honor, Judge McClean, and take his instructions as law. What is reasonable skill and care? This is a thing of which the jury are to judge. I differ from the other side when it says that they are bound to exercise no more care than was taken before the building of the bridge. If we are allowed by the legislature to build the bridge which will require them to do more than before when a pilot comes along it is unreasonable for him to dash on heedless of this structure which has been *legally put there.* The Afton came there on the 5th and lay at Rock Island until next morning. When a boat lies up the pilot has a holiday, and would not any of these jurors have then gone around to the bridge and gotten acquainted with the place. Pilot Parker has shown here that he does not understand the draw. I heard him say that the fall from the head to the foot of the pier was four feet; he needs information. He could have gone there that day and seen there was no such fall. He should have discarded passion and the chances are that he would have had no disaster at all. He was bound to make himself acquainted with the place.

"McCammon says that the current and the swell coming from the long pier drove her against the long pier. In other words drove her toward the very pier from which the current came! It is an absurdity, an impossibility. The only recollection I can find for this contradiction is in a current which White says strikes out from the long pier and then like a ram's horn turns back and this might have acted somehow in this manner.

"It is agreed by all that the plaintiff's boat was destroyed and that it was destroyed upon the head of the short pier; that she moved from the channel where she was with her bow above the head of the long pier; till she struck the short one, swung around under the bridge and there was crowded and destroyed.

"I shall try to prove that the average velocity of the current through the draw with the boat in it should be five and a half

miles an hour; that it is slowest at the head of the pier and swiftest at the foot of the pier. Their lowest estimate in evidence is six miles an hour, their highest twelve miles. This was the testimony of men who had made no experiment, only conjecture. We have adopted the most exact means. The water runs swiftest in high water and we have taken the point of nine feet above low water. The water when the *Afton* was lost was seven feet above low water, or at least a foot lower than our time. Brayton and his assistants timed the instrument. The best instruments known in measuring currents. They timed them under various circumstances and they found the current five miles an hour and no more. They found that the water at the upper end ran slower than five miles; that below it was swifter than five miles, but that the average was five miles. Shall men who have taken no care, who conjecture, some of whom speak of twenty miles an hour, be believed against those who have had such a favorable and well improved opportunity? They should not even *qualify* the result. Several men have given their opinion as to the distance of the steamboat *Carson* and I suppose if *one* should go and *measure* that distance you would believe him in preference to all of them.

"These measurements were made when the boat was not in the draw. It has been ascertained what is the area of the cross section of this stream and the area of the face of the piers and the engineers say that the piers being put there will increase the current proportionally as the space is decreased. So with the boat in the draw. The depth of the channel was twenty-two feet, the width one hundred and sixteen feet, multiply there and you have the square feet across the water of the draw, viz.: 2,552 feet. The *Afton* was 35 feet wide and drew 5 feet, making a fourteenth of the sum. Now, one-fourteenth of five miles is five-fourteenths of one mile—about one third of a mile—the increase of the current. We will call the current five and a half miles per hour. The next thing I will try to prove is that the plaintiff's (?) boat had power to run six miles an hour in that current. It has been testified that she was a strong, swift boat, able to run eight miles an hour up stream in a current of four miles an hour and fifteen miles down stream. Strike the average and you will find what is her average—about eleven and a half miles. Take the five and a half miles which is the speed of the current in the draw and it leaves the power of that boat in that draw

at six miles an hour, 528 feet per minute and 8 4-5 feet to the second.

"Next I propose to show that there are no cross currents. I know their witnesses say that there are cross currents—that as one witness says there were three cross current and two eddies; so far as mere statement without experiment and mingled with mistakes can go they have proved. But can these men's testimony be compared with the nice, exact, thorough experiments of our witnesses. Can you believe that these floats go across the currents? It is inconceivable that they could not have discovered every possible current. How do boats find currents that floats cannot discover? We assume the position then that those cross currents are not there. My next proposition is that the *Afton* passed between the *S. B. Carson* and the Iowa shore. That is undisputed.

"Next I shall show that she struck first the short pier, then the long pier, then the short one again, and there she stopped."

Mr. Lincoln then cited the testimony of eighteen witnesses on this point.

"How did the boat strike when she went in? Here is an endless variety of opinion. But ten of them say what pier she struck; three of them testify that she struck first the short, then the long and then the short for the last time. None of the rest substantially contradict this. I assume that these men have got the truth because I believe it an established fact. My next proposition is that after she struck the short and long pier and before she got back to the short pier the boat got right with her bow up. So says the pilot Parker—'that he got her through until her starboard wheel passed the short pier.' This would make her head about even with the ead of the long pier. He says her head was as high or higher than the head of the long pier. Other witnesses confirmed this one. The final stroke was in the splash door aft the wheel. Witnesses differ but the majority say that she struck thus."

Court adjourned.

14th day, Wednesday, Sept. 23, 1857.

Mr. A. Lincoln resumed. He said he should conclude as soon as possible. He said the colored map of the plaintiff which was

brought in during one stage of the trial showed itself that the cross currents alleged did not exist. That the current as represented would drive an ascending boat to the long pier but not to the short pier, as they urge. He explained from a model of a boat where the splash door is just behind the wheel. The boat struck on the lower shoulder of the short pier as she swung around in the splash door, then as she went on around she struck the point or end of the pier where she rested. "Her engineers," said Mr. Lincoln, "say the starboard wheel then was rushing around rapidly. Then the boat must have struck the upper point of the pier so far back as not to disturb the wheel. It is forty feet from the stern of the *Afton* to the splash door and thus it appears that she had but forty feet to go to clear the pier. How was it that the *Afton* with all her power flanked over from the channel to the short pier without moving one foot ahead? Suppose she was in the middle of the draw, her wheel would have been 31 feet from the short pier. The reason she went over thus is her starboard wheel was not working. I shall try to establish the fact that the wheel was not running and that after she struck she went ahead strong on this same wheel. Upon the last point the witnesses agree that the starboard wheel was running after she struck and no witnesses say that it was running while she was out in the draw flanking over."

Mr. Lincoln read from the testimonies of various witnesses to prove that the starboard wheel was not working while the *Afton* was out in the stream.

"Other witnesses show that the captain said something of the machinery of the wheel and the inference is that he knew the wheel was not working. The fact is undisputed that she did not move one inch ahead while she was moving this 31 feet sideways. There is evidence proving that the current there is only five miles an hour and the only explanation is that her power was not all used—that only one wheel was working. The pilot says he ordered the engineers to back her up. The engineers differ from him and said they kept one going ahead. The bow was so swung that the current pressed it over; the pilot pressed the stern over with the rudder though not so fast but that the bow gained on it and only one wheel being in motion the boat nearly stood still so far as motion up and down is concerned, and thus she was thrown upon this pier. The *Afton* came into the draw after she had just passed the *Carson* and as the *Carson* no doubt kept

the true course the *Afton* going around her got out of the proper way, got across the current into the eddy which is west of a straight line drawn down from the long pier, was compelled to resort to these changes of wheels which she did not do with sufficient adroitness to save her. Was it not her own fault that she entered wrong, so far wrong that she never got right? Is the defense to blame for that?

"For several days we were entertained with depositions about boats 'smelling a bar.' Why did the *Afton* then after she had come up smelling so close to the long pier sheer off so strangely when she got to the center of the very nose she was smelling she seemed suddenly to have lost her sense of smell and to have flanked over to the short pier."

Mr. Lincoln said there was no practicability in the project of building a tunnel under the river, for there "is not a tunnel that is a successful project in this world. A suspension bridge cannot be built so high but that the chimneys of the boats will grow up till they cannot pass. The steamboatmen will take pains to make them grow. The cars of a railroad cannot without immense expense rise high enough to get even with a suspension bridge or go low enough to get through a tunnel; such expense is unreasonable.

"The plaintiffs have to establish that the bridge is a material obstruction and that they have managed their boat with reasonable care and skill. As to the last point high winds have nothing to do with it, for it was not a windy day. They must show due skill and care. Difficulties going down stream will not do for they were going up stream. Difficulties with barges in tow have nothing to do with the accident, for they had no barge."

Mr. Lincoln said he had much more to say, many things he could suggest to the jury, but he wished to close to save time.

Jesse K. Dubois.

Bloomington, Dec. 21, 1857.

Dear Dubois: J. M. Douglas of the I. C. R. R. Co. is here and will carry this letter. He says they have a large sum (near $90,000) which they will pay into the treasury now, if they have an assurance that they shall not be sued before Jany. 1859—otherwise not. I really wish you could consent to this. Douglas says they *can not* pay more and I believe him.

I do not write this as a lawyer seeking an advantage for a

client; but only as a friend, only urging you to do what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I mean this as private and confidential only, but I feel a good deal of anxiety about it.

Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 19, 1858.

HON. JOSEPH GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: This morning Col. McClernand showed me a petition for a mandamus against the Secretary of State to compel him to certify the apportionment act of last session; and he says it will be presented to the court to-morrow morning. We shall be allowed three or four days to get up a return; and I, for one, want the benefit of consultation with you.

Please come right up.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 7, 1858.

HON. J. GILLESPIE:

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday morning the court overruled the demurrer to Hatch's return in the mandamus case. McClernand was present; said nothing about pleading over; and so I suppose the matter is ended. The court gave no reason for the decision; but Peck tells me confidentially that they were unanimous in the opinion that even if the Gov'r had signed the bill purposely, he had the right to scratch his name off, so long as the bill remained in his custody and control.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

Mr. Edward G. Miner, Winchester, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 19, 1858.

EDWARD G. MINER, ESQ.,—

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. G. A. Sutton is an applicant for superintendent of the addition to the Insane Asylum, and I understand it partly depends on you whether he gets it.

Mr. Sutton is my fellow townsman and friend, and I therefore wish to say for him that he is a man of sterling integrity and as a master mechanic and builder not surpassed by any in our city, or any I have known anywhere as far as I can judge.

I hope you will consider me as being really interested for Mr. Sutton and not as writing merely to relieve myself of importunity.

Please show this to Col. William Ross and let him consider it as much intended for him as for yourself.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Edward G. Miner, Jr., Rochester, N. Y.)

Springfield, July 25, 1858.

Hon. J. Gillespie:

My Dear Sir: Your doleful letter of the 18th was received on my return from Chicago last night. I do hope you are worse scared than hurt, though you ought to know best. We must not lose the district. We must make a job of it, and have it. Lay hold of the proper agencies, and secure all the Americans you can, at once. I do hope, on closer inspection, you will find they are not half gone. Make a little test. Run down one of the poll-books of the Edwardsville precinct, and take the first hundred known American names. Then quietly ascertain how many of them are actually going for Douglas. I think you will find less than fifty. But even if you find fifty, make sure of the other fifty,—that is, make sure of all you can, at all events. We will set other agencies to work which shall compensate for the loss of a good many Americans. Don't fail to check the stampede at once. Trumbull, I think, will be with you before long.

There is much he cannot do, and *some* he can. I have reason to hope there will be other help of an appropriate kind. Write me again. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mrs. Josephine Gillespie Prickett of Edwardsville, Ill.)

B. C. Cook.

Springfield, Aug. 2, 1858.

Hon. B. C. Cook,

My Dear Sir: I have a letter from a very true friend and in-

telligent man insisting that there is a plan on foot in La Salle and Bureau to run Douglas republicans for Congress and for the Legislature in those counties, if they can only get the encouragement of our folks nominating pretty extreme abolitionists. It is thought they will do nothing if our folks nominate men who are not very obnoxious to the charge of abolitionism? Please have your eye upon this.

Signs are looking pretty fair.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Hon. J. M. Palmer.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 5, 1858.

HON. J. M. PALMER,

DEAR SIR: Since we parted last evening no new thought has occurred to (me) on the subject of which we talked most yesterday.

I have concluded, however, to speak at your town on Tuesday, August 31st, and have promised to have it so appear in the papers of to-morrow. Judge Trumbull has not yet reached here.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the Rev. Preston Wood, Springfield, Ill.)

Dr. William Fithian, Danville, Ill.

BLOOMINGTON, Sept. 3, 1858.

DEAR DOCTOR: Yours of the 1st was received this morning, as also one from Mr. Harmon, and one from Hiram Beckwith on the same subject. You will see by the Journal that I have appointed to speak at Danville on the 22nd of Sept.,—the day after Douglas speaks there. My recent experience shows that speaking at the same place the next day after D. is the very thing,—it is, in fact, a concluding speech on him. Please show this to Messrs. Harmon and Beckwith; and tell them they must excuse me from writing separate letters to them.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S.—Give full notice to all surrounding country.

A. L.

(Original owned by Dr. P. H. Fithian, Springfield, Ill.)

BLANDINSVILLE, Oct. 26, 1858.

A. SYMPSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Since parting with you this morning I heard some things which make me believe that Edmunds and Morrill will spend this week among the National Democrats trying to induce them to content themselves by voting for Jake Davis, and then to vote for the Douglas candidates for Senator and Representative. Have this headed off, if you can. Call Wagley's attention to it, and have him and the National Democrat for Rep. to counteract it as far as they can. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Alexander Sympson, Lewistown, Ill.)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 8, 1858.

H. D. SHARPE, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Your very kind letter of Nov. 9th was duly received. I do not know that you expected or desired an answer; but glancing over the contents of yours again, I am prompted to say that, while I desired the result of the late canvass to have been different, I still regard it as an exceedingly small matter. I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final rightful result.

Respectfully yours,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by the family of H. D. Sharpe, Brooklyn, N. Y.)

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 12, 1858.

ALEXANDER SYMPSON, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I expect the result of the election went hard with you. So it did with me, too, perhaps not quite so hard as you may have supposed. I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. Step by step the objects of the leaders will become too plain for the people to stand them. I write merely to let you know that I am neither dead nor dying. Please give my respects to your good family, and all inquiring friends. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by family of Alexander Sympson, Lewiston, Ill.)

A LEGAL OPINION BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The 11th Section of the Act of Congress, approved Feb. 11, 1805, prescribing rules for the subdivision of Sections of land within the United States system of Surveys, standing unrepealed, in my opinion, is binding on the respective purchasers of different parts of the same section, and furnishes the true rule for Surveyors in establishing lines between them— That law, being in force at this time each became a purchaser, becomes a condition of the purchase.

And, by that law, I think the true rule for dividing into quarters, any interior Section, or Sections, which is not fractional, is to run straight lines through the Section from the opposite quarter section corners, fixing the point where such straight lines cross, or intersect each other, as the middle or center of the Section.

Nearly, perhaps quite, all the original surveys are to some extent, erroneous, and in some of the Sections, greatly so. In each of the latter, it is obvious that a more equitable mode of division than the above, might be adopted; but as error is infinitely various perhaps no better single rules can be prescribed.

At all events I think the above has been prescribed by the competent authority. A. LINCOLN.

Springfield, Jany. 6, 1859.

(Original owned by L. A. Enos, Springfield, Ill.)

MARCH 10, 1860.

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I say in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest, the use of some, is both right, and indispensable. With me, as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this— If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

Present my respects to Genl. Lane; and say to him, I shall be pleased to hear from him at any time.

Your friend, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(Extract from letter to Kansas delegate. Original in possession of J. W. Weik, Greencastle, Ind.)

Hawkins Taylor.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., April 21, 1860.

HAWKINS TAYLOR, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 15th is just received. It surprises me that you have written twice, without receiving an answer. I have answered all I ever received from you; and certainly one since my return from the East.

Opinions here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated, are quite conflicting—some very confident he *will*, and others that he will *not* be— I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him.

I am glad there is a prospect of your party passing this way to Chicago. Wishing to make your visit here as pleasant as we can, we wish you to notify us as soon as possible, whether you come this way, how many, and when you will arrive.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in the Collection of Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by the Hon. Chas. Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 4, 1860.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN:

MY DEAR SIR: It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or "Abram" will never be settled. It is "Abraham," and if the letter of acceptance is not yet in print, you may, if you think fit, have my signature thereto printed "Abraham Lincoln." Exercise your judgment about this.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(From "Springfield, Mass., 1836-1886," by Mason A. Green.)

HON. JOHN ————

Private

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Aug. 31, 1860.

HON. JOHN ————,

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 27th is duly received— It consists almost exclusively of a historical detail of some local troubles, among some of our friends in Pennsylvania; and I suppose its object is to guard me against forming a prejudice against Mr. McC————. I have not heard near so much upon that subject as you probably suppose; and I am slow to listen to criminations

among friends, and never expose their quarrels on either side—My sincere wish is that both sides will allow by-gones to be by-gones, and look to the present and future only.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Chas. Roberts, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.)

Hon. N. Sargent.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Sept. 20, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 16th was received yesterday; have just time to acknowledge its receipt, and to say I thank you for it; and that I shall be pleased to hear from you again whenever it is convenient for you to write.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Wm. Herndon.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 10, 1860.

DEAR WILLIAM: I cannot give you details, but it is entirely certain that Pennsylvania and Indiana have gone Republican very largely. Pennsylvania 25,000, and Indiana 5,000 to 10,000. Ohio of course is safe.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

(Private and Confidential.)

Major David Hunter, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, October 26, 1860.

MAJOR DAVID HUNTER:

MY DEAR SIR: Your very kind letter of the 20th was duly received, for which please accept my thanks. I have another letter, from a writer unknown to me, saying the officers of the army at Fort Kearny have determined, in case of Republican success at the approaching presidential election, to take themselves, and the arms at that point, South, for the purpose of resistance to

the government. While I think there are many chances to one that this is a humbug, it occurs to me that any real movement of this sort in the army would leak out and become known to you. In such case, if it would not be unprofessional or dishonorable (of which you are to be judge), I shall be much obliged if you will apprise me of it.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by War Records Commission.)

(Confidential.)

Major David Hunter.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, December 22, 1860.

MAJOR DAVID HUNTER:

MY DEAR SIR: I am much obliged by the receipt of yours of the 18th. The most we can do now is to watch events, and be as well prepared as possible for any turn things may take. If the forts fall, my judgment is that they are to be retaken. When I shall determine definitely my time of starting to Washington, I will notify you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by War Records Commission.)

Hon. I. N. Morris, Quincy, Ill.

Confidential.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 24, 1860.

HON. I. N. MORRIS,

MY DEAR SIR: Without supposing that you and I are any nearer together, politically than heretofore, allow me to tender you my sincere thanks for your Union resolution, expressive of views upon which we never were, and, I trust, never will be at variance.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Thomas L. Morris, Quincy, Ill.)

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1861.

DEAR STUART:

Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield Post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a territorial governor and Judge Trumbull's brother to a land-office—Will it do for me to go on and justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Dr. Wallace you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.—

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the Post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here, need know nothing of it, so therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part.—

Yours, as ever, A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Mr. Stuart Brown, Springfield, Ill.)

The originals of the telegrams and letters which follow are in the collection of telegrams sent by the War Department during the Civil War, unless otherwise noted. A few of them appear in the official War Records, but none of them are to be found in the Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln edited by Nicolay and Hay, and the most of them have never before been printed. The telegrams have been compared with the originals by the Record and Pension Office.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1861.

GOVERNOR E. D. MORGAN, Albany, N. Y.:

I wish to see you face to face to clear these difficulties about forwarding troops from New York.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1861.

COL. W. A. BARTLETT, New York:

The Naval Brigade was to go to Fort Monroe without trouble to the Government, and must so go or not at all.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 13, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: There is, it seems, a regiment in Massachusetts commanded by Fletcher Webster, and which Hon. Daniel Webster's old friends very much wish to get into the service. If it can be received with the approval of your Department and the consent of the Governor of Massachusetts I shall indeed be much gratified. Give Mr. Ashman a chance to explain fully,

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I, Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 13, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: I think it is entirely safe to accept a fifth regiment from Michigan, and with your approbation I should say a regiment presented by Col. T. B. W. Stockton, ready for service within two weeks from now, will be received. Look at Colonel Stockton's testimonials.

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I, Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR: With your concurrence, and that of the Governor of Indiana I am in favor of accepting into what we call the three years' service any number not exceeding four additional regiments from that State. Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, including my own old boyhood home. Please see Hon. C. M. Allen, Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives and, unless you perceive good reasons to the contrary, draw up an order for him according to the above.

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(From War Records, Vol. I, Series III.)

(Indorsement.)

June 22, 1861.

If agreeable to the Secretary of War, I approve the receiving

one of the regiments already accepted from Indiana, organized and equipped as a cavalry regiment.

A. Lincoln.

(From War Records, Vol. I, Series III.)

Executive Mansion, June 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Kentucky Delegation who are for the Union:

I somewhat wish to authorize my friend, Jesse Bayles, to raise a Kentucky regiment, but I do not wish to do it without your consent. If you consent, please write so at the bottom of this.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

We consent.

R. Mallory.
H. Grider.
G. W. Dunlap.
J. S. Jackson.
C. A. Wickliffe.

August 5, 1861.

I repeat, I would like for Col. Bayles to raise a regiment of cavalry whenever the Union men of Kentucky desire or consent to it.

A. Lincoln.

(From War Records, Vol. I, Series III.)

Hon. James Pollock.

Washington, Aug. 15, 1861.

Hon. James Pollock,

My Dear Sir: You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must*.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Chas. Roberts, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, Dec. 31, 1861.

Major-General Hunter:

Dear Sir: Yours of the 23d is received, and I am constrained to say it is difficult to answer so ugly a letter in good temper. I am, as you intimate, losing much of the great confidence I placed

in you, not from any act or omission of yours touching the public service, up to the time you were sent to Leavenworth, but from the flood of grumbling despatches and letters I have seen from you since. I knew you were being ordered to Leavenworth at the time it was done; and I aver that with as tender a regard for your honor and your sensibilities as I had for my own, it never occurred to me that you were being "humiliated, insulted and disgraced;" nor have I, up to this day, heard an intimation that you have been wronged, coming from any one but yourself—No one has blamed you for the retrograde movement from Springfield, nor for the information you gave General Cameron; and this you could readily understand, if it were not for your unwarranted assumption that the ordering you to Leavenworth must necessarily have been done as a *punishment* for some *fault*. I thought then, and think yet, the position assigned to you is as responsible, and as honorable, as that assigned to Buell—I know that General McClellan expected more important results from it. My impression is that at the time you were assigned to the new Western Department, it had not been determined to replace General Sherman in Kentucky; but of this I am not certain, because the idea that a command in Kentucky was very desirable, and one in the farther West undesirable, had never occurred to me—You constantly speak of being placed in command of only 3,000—Now tell me, is this not mere impatience? Have you not known all the while that you are to command four or five times that many?

I have been, and am sincerely your friend; and if, as such, I dare to make a suggestion, I would say you are adopting the best possible way to ruin yourself. "Act well your part, there all the honor lies." He who does *something* at the head of one Regiment, will eclipse him who does *nothing* at the head of a hundred. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

On the outside of the envelope in which this letter was found, General Hunter had written:

"The President's reply to my 'ugly letter.' This lay on his table a month after it was written, and when finally sent was by a special conveyance, with the direction that it was only to be given to me when I was in a good humor."

(Original owned by War Record Commission.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON,
January 20, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, Commanding Armies of the United States:

You or any officer you may designate will in your discretion suspend the writ of habeas corpus so far as may relate to Major Chase, lately of the Engineer Corps of the Army of the United States, now alleged to be guilty of treasonable practices against this Government.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
(From War Records, Vol. II, Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 9, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK, Saint Louis, Mo.:

If the rigor of the confinement of Magoffin at Alton is endangering his life, or materially impairing his health, I wish it mitigated as far as it can be consistently with his safe detention.

A. LINCOLN.

Please send above by order of the President. JOHN HAY.

SPEECH TO THE 12th INDIANA REGIMENT.

Soldiers of the Twelfth Indiana Regiment: It has not been customary heretofore, nor will it be hereafter, for me to say something to every regiment passing in review. It occurs too frequently for me to have speeches ready on all occasions. As you have paid such a mark of respect to the Chief Magistrate, it appears that I should say a word or two in reply.

Your Colonel has thought fit, on his own account and in your name, to say that you are satisfied with the manner in which I have performed my part in the difficulties which have surrounded the nation. For your kind expressions I am extremely grateful, but, on the other hand, I assure you that the nation is more indebted to you, and such as you, than to me. It is upon the brave hearts and strong arms of the people of the country that our reliance has been placed in support of free government and free institutions.

For the part which you and the brave army of which you are a part have, under Providence, performed in this great struggle, I tender more thanks—greatest thanks that can be possibly due—and especially to this regiment, which has been the subject of good report. The thanks of the nation will follow you, and may God's blessing rest upon you now and forever. I hope that upon your return to your homes you will find your friends and loved ones well and happy. I bid you farewell.

(From New York "Evening Post," May 15, 1862.)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., June 28, 1862.

Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Your dispatch of to-day is just received. I have no recollection of either John R. Cravens, or Cyrus M. Allen, having been named to me for appointment under the tax law. The latter particularly has been my friend, and I am sorry to learn that he is not yours. No appointment has been or will be made by me for the purpose of stabbing you.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., July 28, 1862.

Governors of all Loyal States:

It would be of great service here for us to know, as fully as you can tell, what progress is made and making in recruiting for old regiments in your State. Also about what day the first regiment can move with you, what the second, what the third and so on? This information is important to us in making calculations. Please give it as promptly and accurately as you can.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 14, 1862.

Officer in charge of Confederate prisoners at Camp Chase, Ohio:

It is believed that a Dr. J. J. Williams is a prisoner in your charge, and if so, tell him his wife is here and allow him to telegraph to her.

A. Lincoln.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 15, 1862.

Officer having prisoners in charge at Camp Douglass, near Chicago, Ill.:

Is there a prisoner Dr. Joseph J. Williams? and if so tell him his wife is here and allow him to telegraph her.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 16, 1862.

HON. HIRAM BARNEY, New York:

Mrs. L. has $1,000 for the benefit of the hospitals and she will be obliged, and send the pay if you will be so good as to select and send her $200 worth of good lemons and $100 worth of good oranges.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 21, 1862.

MRS. MARGARET PRESTON, Lexington, Ky.:

Your dispatch to Mrs. L. received yesterday. She is not well. Owing to her early and strong friendship for you, I would gladly oblige you, but I cannot absolutely do it. If General Boyle and Hon. James Guthrie, one or both, in their discretion, see fit to give you the passes, this is my authority to them for doing so.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 21, 1862.

GILLET F. WATSON, Williamsburg, Va.:

Your telegram in regard to the lunatic asylum has been received. It is certainly a case of difficulty, but if you cannot remain, I cannot conceive who under my authority can. Remain as long as you safely can, and provide as well as you can for the poor inmates of the institution.

A. LINCOLN.

August 27, 1862—4.30 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Do you hear anything from Pope?

A. LINCOLN.

August 28, 1862—2.40 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Any news from General Pope?

A. LINCOLN.

August 28, 1862—2.40 p. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

Yours received. How do you learn that the rebel forces at Manassas are large and commanded by several of their best generals?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1862—2.30 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth, Va.:

Any further news? Does Colonel Devin mean that sound of firing was heard in direction of Warrenton as stated, or in direction of Warrenton Junction?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 30, 1862—10.20 a. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

What news?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
August 30, 1862—3.50 p. m.

COLONEL HAUPT, Alexandria, Va.:

Please send me the latest news.

A. LINCOLN.

August 30, 1862—8.35 p. m.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS, Manassas Junction, Va.:

Please tell me what news.

A. LINCOLN.

MCCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS, October 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

General Stuart, of the rebel army, has sent in a few of our prisoners under a flag of truce, paroled with terms to prevent

their fighting the Indians, and evidently seeking to commit us to their right to parole our prisoners in that way. My inclination is to send the prisoners back with a distinct notice that we will recognize no paroles given to our prisoners by rebels as extending beyond the prohibition against fighting them, yet I wish your opinion upon it based both upon the general law and our cartel. I wish to avoid violations of law and bad faith. Answer as quickly as possible, as the thing if done at all should be done at once.

A. LINCOLN,
President.

(From War Records, Vol. IV, Series III.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 7, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, Headquarters Army of the Potomac:

You wish to see your family and I wish to oblige you. It might be left to your own discretion, certainly so, if Mrs. M. could meet you here at Washington.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., October 16, 1862.

GOVERNOR PIERPOINT, Wheeling, Va.:

Your dispatch of to-day received. I am very sorry to have offended you. I appointed the collector as I thought, on your written recommendation, and the assessor also with your testimony of worthiness, although I know you preferred a different man. I will examine to-morrow whether I am mistaken in this.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 29, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Your dispatches of night before last, yesterday, and last night all received. I am much pleased with the movement of the army. When you get entirely across the river let me know. What do you know of the enemy?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 30, 1862.

GOVERNOR CURTIN, Harrisburg:

By some means I have not seen your dispatch of the 27th about Order No. 154, till this moment. I now learn what I knew nothing of before, that the history of the order is as follows, to-wit: General McClellan telegraphed asking General Halleck to have the order made, General Halleck went to the Secretary of War with it, stating his approval of the plan. The Secretary assented and General Halleck wrote the order. It was a military question which the Secretary supposed the generals understood better than he. I wish I could see Governor Curtin.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) WASHINGTON, November 30, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Frank Blair wants Manter's Thirty-second, Curly's Twenty-seventh, Boyd's Twenty-fourth and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry to go with him down the river. I understand it is with you to decide whether he shall have them and if so, and if also it is consistent with the public service you will oblige me a good deal by letting him have them.

A. LINCOLN.

Judge Advocate General, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 1, 1862.

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

SIR: Three hundred Indians have been sentenced to death in Minnesota by a Military Commission, and execution only awaits my action. I wish your legal opinion whether if I should conclude to execute only a part of them, I must myself designate which, or could I leave the designation to some officer on the ground? Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original in Archives of Treasury Dept. Loaned by M. E. Ailes, Washington, D.C.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1862.

BRIG. GEN. H. H. SIBLEY, Saint Paul, Minn.:

As you suggest let the executions fixed for Friday the 19th in-

stant, be postponed to, and be done on Friday the 26th instant.

A. LINCOLN.

Private

Operator please send this very carefully and accurately.

A. L.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL CURTIS, Saint Louis, Mo.:

N. W. Watkins, of Jackson, Mo., (who is half brother to Henry Clay) writes me that a colonel of ours has driven him from his home at Jackson. Will you please look into the case and restore the old man to his home if the public interest will admit?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., December 16, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth:

Your dispatch about General Stahel is received. Please ascertain from General Sigel and his old corps whether Stahel or Schurz is preferable and telegraph the result and I will act immediately. After all I shall be governed by your preference.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1862.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Continental Hotel:

Do not come on the night train. It is too cold. Come in the morning.

A. LINCOLN.

Please send above and oblige the President. JOHN HAY,
A. P. S.

Caleb Russell.
Sallie A. Fenton.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, January 5, 1863.

MY GOOD FRIENDS:

The Honorable Senator Harlan has just placed in my hands your letter of the 27th of December, which I have read with pleasure and gratitude.

It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the restoration of

a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure.

I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty.

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Mr. John Dugdale, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.)

(Cypher) War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1863.

Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

I think it would not do for me to meet you at Harrisburg. It would be known and would be misconstrued a thousand ways. Of course if the whole truth could be told and accepted as truth, it would do no harm, but that is impossible.

A Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 19, 1863.

William H. Herndon, Springfield, Ill.:

Would you accept a job of about a month's duration at Saint Louis, $5 a day and mileage? Answer.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 25, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough, Tenn.:

Your dispatches about General Davis and General Mitchell are received. General Davis' case is not particular, being simply one of a great many recommended and not nominated, because they would transcend the number allowed by law. General Mitchell nominated and rejected by the Senate and I do not

think it proper for me to re-nominate him without a change of circumstances such as the performance of additional service, or an expressed change of purpose on the part of at least some Senators who opposed him.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 3, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

Our plan is to pass Saturday night on the boat, go over from Acquia Creek to your camp Sunday morning, remain with you till Tuesday morning and then return. Our party will probably not exceed six persons of all sorts.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 11, 1863.

Officer in Command at Nashville, Tenn.:

Is there a soldier by the name of John R. Minnick of Wynkoop's cavalry under sentence of death, by a court martial or military commission, in Nashville? And if so what was his offense, and when is he to be executed?

A. LINCOLN.

If necessary let the execution be staid till I can be heard from again.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 23, 1863.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 23, 1863.

HON. S. P. CHASE, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 29, 1863.

HON. W. A. NEWELL, Allentown, N. J.:

I have some trouble about provost-marshal in your first district. Please procure Hon. Mr. Starr to come with you and see me, or come to an agreement with him and telegraph me the result.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 4, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL BURNSIDE, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Our friend General Sigel claims that you owe him a letter. If you so remember please write him at once. He is here.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, May 12, 1863.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, Albany, N. Y.:

Dr. Swinburne and Mr. Gillett are here having been refused, as they say, by the War Department, permission to go to the Army of the Potomac. They now appeal to me saying you wish them to go. I suppose they have been excluded by a rule which experience has induced the department to deem proper, still they shall have leave to go, if you say you desire it. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, May 16, 1863.

HON. JAMES GUTHRIE, Louisville, Ky.:

Your dispatch of to-day is received. I personally know nothing of Colonel Churchill, but months ago and more than once he has been represented to me as exerting a mischievous influence at Saint Louis, for which reason I am unwilling to force his continuance there against the judgment of our friends on the ground, but if it will oblige you, he may come to, and remain at Louisville upon taking the oath of allegiance, and your pledge for his good behavior.

A. LINCOLN.

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

War Department, Washington City, May 16, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My Dear Sir: The commander of the Department at St. Louis has ordered several persons south of our military lines, which order is not disapproved by me. Yet at the special request of Hon. James Guthrie I have consented to one of the number, Samuel Churchill, remaining at Louisville, Ky., upon condition of his taking the oath of allegiance and Mr. Guthrie's word of honor for his good behavior.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 2, 1863.

Hon. Erastus Corning, Albany, N. Y.:

The letter of yourself and others dated the 19th and inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany on the 16th was received night before last. I shall give the resolutions the consideration you ask, and shall try to find time and make a respectful response.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 9, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Think you had better put "Tad's" pistol away. I had an ugly dream about him.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 11, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln, Philadelphia:

Your three dispatches received. I am very well and am glad to know that you and "Tad" are so.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

If you can show me a trial of the Incendiary shells on Saturday night I will try to join you at 5 p. m. that day. Answer.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 13, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:

I was coming down this afternoon, but if you would prefer I should not, I shall blame you if you do not tell me so.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1863.

GENERAL TYLER, Martinsburg:

If you are besieged how do you dispatch me? Why did you not leave before being besieged?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
June 15, 1863.

MRS. LINCOLN, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Tolerably well. Have not rode out much yet, but have at last got new tires on the carriage wheels and perhaps shall ride out soon.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., June 16, 1863.

MRS. LINCOLN, Philadelphia:

It is a matter of choice with yourself whether you come home. There is no reason why you should not, that did not exist when you went away. As bearing on the question of your coming home, I do not think the raid into Pennsylvania amounts to anything at all.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 16, 1863.

COL. WILLIAM S. BLISS, New York Hotel:

Your dispatch asking whether I will accept "the Loyal Brigade of the North" is received. I never heard of that brigade by name and do not know where it is, yet presuming it is in New York, I say I will gladly accept it, if tendered by and with the consent and approbation of the Governor of that State. Otherwise not.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, Yorktown, Va.:

We have a dispatch from General Grant of the 19th. Don't think Kirby Smith took Milliken's Bend since, allowing time to get the news to Joe Johnston and from him to Richmond. But it is not absolutely impossible. Also have news from Banks to the 16th, I think. He had not run away then, nor thought of it.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 25, 1863.

GENERAL PECK, Suffolk, Va.:

Colonel Derrom, of the Twenty-fifth New Jersey Volunteers, now mustered out, says there is a man in your hands under conviction for desertion, who formerly belonged to the above named regiment, and whose name is Templeton, Isaac F. Templeton, I believe. The colonel and others appeal to me for him. Please telegraph to me what is the condition of the case, and if he has not been executed send me the record of the trial and conviction.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 30, 1863.

GOVERNOR PARKER, Trenton, N. J.:

Your dispatch of yesterday received. I really think the altitude of the enemies army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began. I think you will not see the foe in New Jersey. I beg you to be assured that no one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvements of replacing General McClellan in

command, and this aside from any imputations upon him. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done and are doing to get troops forward.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, June 30, 1863.

A. K. McClure, Philadelphia:

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another and probably a larger one?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., July 8, 1863.

Hon. F. F. Low, San Francisco, Cal.:

There is no doubt that General Meade, now commanding the Army of the Potomac, beat Lee at Gettysburg, Pa., at the end of a three days' battle, and that the latter is now crossing the Potomac at Williamsport over the swollen stream and with poor means of crossing, and closely pressed by Meade. We also have dispatches rendering it entirely certain that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the glorious old 4th.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., July 9, 1863.

Hon. Leonard Swett, Hon. F. F. Low, San Francisco, Cal.:

Consult together and do not have a riot, or great difficulty about delivering possession.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington City, July 15, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, San Francisco, Cal.:

Many persons are telegraphing me from California, begging me for the peace of the State to suspend the military enforcement of the writ of possession in the Almedan case, while you are the single one who urges the contrary. You know I would

like to oblige you, but it seems to me my duty in this case is the other way.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington City, July 15, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Your dispatch of yesterday received. Lee was already across the river when you sent it. I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Couch, Smith, and all since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight. Please tell me, if you know, who was the one corps commander who was for fighting in the council of war on Sunday night.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 3, 1863.

Major-General Foster, (or whoever may be in command of the military department with headquarters at Fort Monroe, Va.:)

If Dr. Wright on trial at Norfolk, has been or shall be convicted, send me a transcript of his trial and conviction and do not let execution be done upon him until my further order.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 13, 1863.

Dr. John P. Gray, Norfolk, Va.:

The names of those whose affidavits are left with me on the question of Dr. Wright's sanity are as follows:

Mrs. Jane C. Bolsom, Mrs. M. E. Smiley, Moses Hudgin, J. D. Ghislin, Jr., Felix Logue, Robert B. Tunstall, M. D., Mrs. Elizabeth Rooks, Dr. E. D. Granier, Thomas K. Murray, William J. Holmes, Miss Margaret E. Wigeon, Mrs. Emily S. Frost.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., October 15, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.:

Postpone the execution of Dr. Wright to Friday the 23d in-

stant, (October). This is intended for his preparation and is final.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., October 17, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.:

It would be useless for Mrs. Dr. Wright to come here. The subject is a very painful one, but the case is settled.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 15, 1863.

J. G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.:

Thanks both for the good news you send and for the sending of it.

A. Lincoln.

(Private.)

Hon. James Conkling.

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., August 17, 1863.

My Dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggestion—read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good Union men.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 21, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.:

At this late moment I am appealed to in behalf of William Thompson of Company K, Third Maryland Volunteers, in Twelfth Army Corps, said to be at Kelly's Ford, under sentence to be shot to-day as a deserter. He is represented to me to be very young, with symptoms of insanity. Please postpone the execution till further order.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 24, 1863.

Mrs. Elizabeth J. Grimsley, Springfield, Ill.:

I mail the papers to you to-day appointing Johnny to the Naval school.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., August 29, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, San Francisco, Cal.:

If the Government's rights are reserved, the Government will be satisfied, and at all events it will consider.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 29, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, N. H.:

All quite well. Fort Sumter is *certainly* battered down and utterly useless to the enemy, and it is *believed* here, but not entirely certain that both Sumter and Fort Wagner are occupied by our forces. It is also certain that General Gilmore has thrown some shot into the city of Charleston.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 31, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:

In my letter of the 26th insert between the sentence ending "since the issue of the emancipation proclamation as before" and the next commencing "You say you will not fight, &c.," what follows below my signature hereto.

A. Lincoln.

"I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes, could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who

hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections, often urged, that emancipation, and arming the blacks, are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith."

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 3, 1863.

HON. JAMES C. CONKLING, Springfield, Ill.:

I am mortified this morning to find the letter to you botched up in the Eastern papers, telegraphed from Chicago. How did this happen?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1863.

HON. JOSEPH SEGAR, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I have just seen your dispatch to the Secretary of War, who is absent. I also send a dispatch from Major Hayner of the 3d showing that he had notice of my order, and stating that the people were jubilant over it, as a victory over the Government extorted by fear, and that he had already collected about 4,000 of the money. If he has proceeded since I shall hold him accountable for his contumacy. On the contrary no dollar shall be refunded by my order until it shall appear that my act in the case has been accepted in the right spirit.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

It is represented to me that Thomas Edds, in your army, is under sentence of death for desertion, to be executed next Monday. It is also said his supposed desertion is comprised in an absence commencing with his falling behind last winter, being captured and paroled by the enemy, and then going home. If this be near the truth, please suspend the execution till further order and send me the record of the trial.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Warrenton, Va.:

The name is "Thomas Edds" not "Eddies" as in your dispatch. The papers left with me do not designate the regiment to which he belongs. The man who gave me the papers, I do not know how to find again. He only told me that Edds is in the Army of the Potomac, and that he fell out of the ranks during Burnsides' mud march last winter. If I get further information I will telegraph again.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

HON. J. K. DUBOIS, HON. O. M. HATCH:

What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quartermaster-general of? This nation already has a quartermaster-general.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

HON. ANDREW JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Dispatch of yesterday just received. I shall try to find the paper you mention and carefully consider it. In the meantime let me urge that you do your utmost to get every man you can, black and white, under arms at the very earliest moment, to guard roads, bridges and trains, allowing all the better trained soldiers to go forward to Rosecrans. Of course I mean for you to act in co-operation with, and not independently of the military authorities.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

MRS. HANNAH ARMSTRONG, Petersburg, Ill.:

I have just ordered the discharge of your boy William as you say, now at Louisville, Ky.

A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 20, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York:

I neither see nor hear anything of sickness here now, though there may be much without my knowing it. I wish you to stay, or come just as is most agreeable to yourself.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 21, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York:

The air is so clear and cool and apparently healthy that I would be glad for you to come. Nothing very particular but I would be glad to see you and Tad.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 22, 1863.

Hon. O. M. Hatch, Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.:

Your letter is just received. The particular form of my dispatch was jocular, which I supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand. General Allen is considered here as a very faithful and capable officer, and one who would be at least thought of for quartermaster-general if that office were vacant.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 22, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Fifth Avenue House, New York:

Did you receive my dispatch of yesterday? Mrs. Cuthbert did not correctly understand me. I directed her to tell you to use your own pleasure whether to stay or come, and I did not say it is sickly and that you should on no account come. So far as I see or know, it was never healthier, and I really wish to see you. Answer this on receipt.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 24, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in favor of a private (name not remembered) in Company D, First Regiment New Jersey Volunteers, in Sixth

Corps, who is said to be under sentence to be shot to-morrow. Please give me briefly the facts of the case, including his age and your opinion on it.

A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Also give me a like statement in the case of Daniel Sullivan, of Thirteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, First Army Corps.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 25, 1863.

General McCallum, Alexandria, Va.:

I have sent to General Meade, by telegraph, to suspend the execution of Daniel Sullivan of Company E. Thirteenth Massachusetts, which was to be to-day, but understanding there is an interruption on the line, may I beg you to send this to him by the quickest mode in your power?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 25, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

Owing to the press in behalf of Daniel Sullivan, Company E, Thirteenth Massachusetts, and the doubt though small, which you express of his guilty intention, I have concluded to say let his execution be suspended till further order, and copy of record sent me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Following dispatch just received:

Union Men Driven Out of Missouri.

Leavenworth, September 29.—Governor Gamble having authorized Colonel Moss of Liberty, Mo., to arm the men in Platte and Clinton Counties, he has armed mostly the returned rebel soldiers and men under bonds. Moss' men are now driving the Union men out of Missouri. Over one hundred families crossed the river to-day. Many of the wives of our Union soldiers have

been compelled to leave. Four or five Union men have been murdered by Colonel Moss' men.

Please look to this and if true, in whole or part put a stop to it.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1863.

GENERAL TYLER, Baltimore:

Take care of colored troops in your charge, but do nothing further about that branch of affairs until further orders. Particularly do nothing about General Vickers of Kent County.

A. LINCOLN.

Send a copy to Colonel Birney. A. L.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of August Blittersdorf, at Mitchell's Station, Va., to be shot to-morrow as a deserter. I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot, and his father affirms that he is yet under sixteen. Please answer. His regiment or company not given me.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

The boy telegraphs from Mitchell's Station, Va. The father thinks he is in the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. The father signs the name "Blittersdorf." I can tell no more.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 8, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

I am appealed to in behalf of John Murphy, to be shot to-morrow. His mother says he is but seventeen. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 12, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

The father and mother of John Murphy, of the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunters, have filed their own affidavits that he was born June 22, 1846, and also the affidavits of three other persons who all swear that they remembered the circumstances of his birth and that it was in the year 1846, though they do not remember the particular day. I therefore, on account of his tender age, have concluded to pardon him, and to leave it to yourself, whether to discharge him or continue him in the service.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

L. B. TODD, Lexington, Ky.:

I send the following pass to your care.

A. LINCOLN.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

To whom it may concern:

Allow Mrs. Robert S. Todd, widow, to go South and bring her daughter, Mrs. General B. Hardin Helm, with her children north to Kentucky.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 15, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

On the 4th instant you telegraphed me that Private Daniel Hanson, of Ninety-seventh New York Volunteers, had not yet been tried. When he shall be, please notify me of the result, with a brief statement of his case, if he be convicted. Gustave Blittersdorf, whom you say is enlisted in the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, as William Fox, is proven to me to be only fifteen years old last January. I pardon him, and you will discharge him or put him in the ranks at your discretion. Mathias Brown, of Nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, is proven to me to be eighteen last May, and his friends say he is convicted on an enlistment and for a desertion both before

that time. If this last be true he is pardoned, to be kept or discharged as you please. If not true suspend his execution and report the facts of his case. Did you receive my dispatch of 12th pardoning John Murphy?

A. Lincoln.

Hon. James W. Grimes.

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., Oct. 29, 1863.

Hon. James W. Grimes.

My Dear Sir: The above act of congress was passed, as I suppose, for the purpose of shutting out improper applicants for seats in the House of Representatives; and I fear there is some danger that it will be *used* to shut out proper ones. Iowa, having an entire Union delegation, will be one of the States the attempt will be made, if upon any. The Governor doubtless has made out the certificates, and they are already in the hands of the members. I suggest that they come on with them; but that, for greater caution, you, and perhaps Mr. Harlan with you, consult with the Governor, and have an additional set made out according to the form on the other half of this sheet; and still another set, if you can, by studying the law, think of a form that in your judgment, promises additional security, and quietly bring the whole on with you, to be used in case of necessity. Let what you do be kept still. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Hist. Dept. of Iowa. Loaned by Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., October 30, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

Much obliged for the information about deserters contained in your dispatch of yesterday, while I have to beg your pardon for troubling you in regard to some of them, when, as it appears by yours, I had the means of answering my own questions.

A. Lincoln

War Department,
Washington City, November 3, 1863.

Hon. W. H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y.:

Nothing new. Dispatches up to 12 last night from Chat-

tanooga show all quiet and doing well. How is your son?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 3, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

Samuel Wellers, private in Company B, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., November 10, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I see a dispatch here from Saint Louis, which is a little difficult for me to understand. It says "General Schofield has refused leave of absence to members in military service to attend the legislature. All such are radical and administration men. The election of two Senators from this place on Thursday will probably turn upon this thing." What does this mean? Of course members of the legislation must be allowed to attend its sessions. But how is there a session before the recent election returns are in? And how is it to be at "this place"—and that is Saint Louis? Please inform me.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., November 11, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I believe the Secretary of War has telegraphed you about members of the legislation. At all events, allow those in the service to attend the session, and we can afterward decide whether they can stay through the entire session.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., November 20, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

If there is a man by the name of King under sentence to be

shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 20, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

An intelligent woman in deep distress, called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of Potomac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and, putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify by, except her own signature, which seems to be "Mrs. Anna S. King." I could not again find her. If you have a case which you shall think is probably the one intended, please apply my dispatch of this morning to it.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1863.

E. P. Evans, West Union, Adams County, Ohio:

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is before me. Can there be a worse case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 3, 1863.

Major-General Meade:

Governor Seymour especially asks that Isaac C. White sentenced to death for desertion be reprieved. I wish this done.

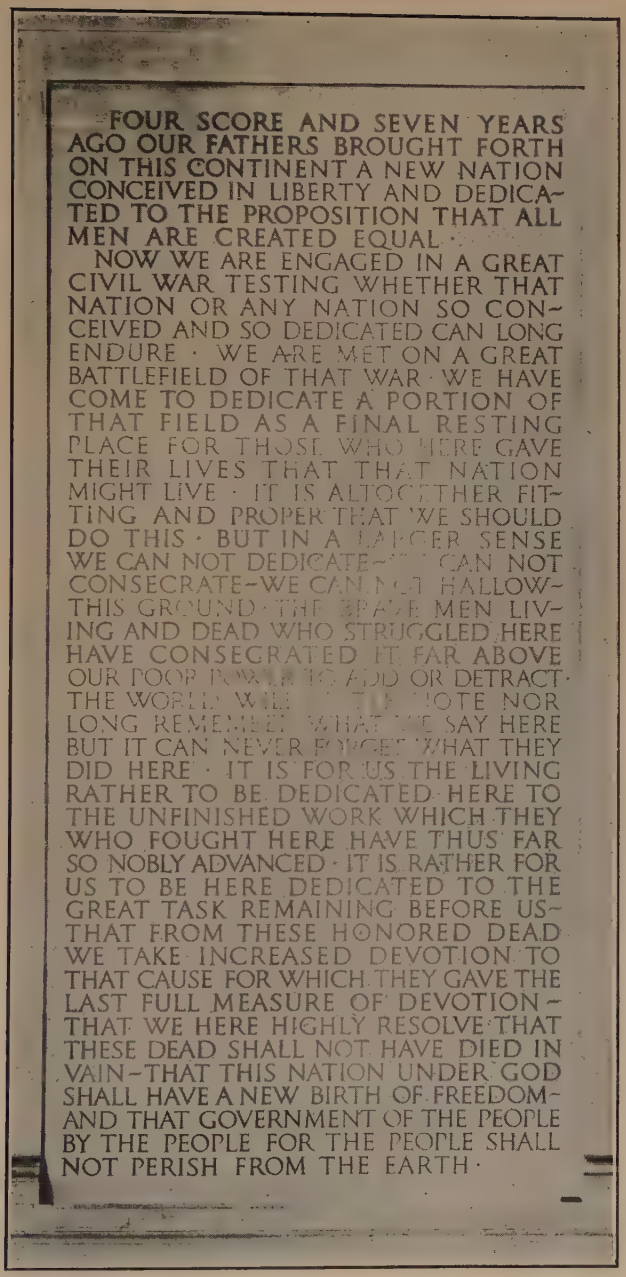
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 7, 1863—10.20 a. m.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

All doing well. Tad confidently expects you to-night. When will you come?

A. Lincoln.


FOUR SCORE AND SEVEN YEARS AGO OUR FATHERS BROUGHT FORTH ON THIS CONTINENT A NEW NATION CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY AND DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL ·
NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT CIVIL WAR TESTING WHETHER THAT NATION OR ANY NATION SO CONCEIVED AND SO DEDICATED CAN LONG ENDURE · WE ARE MET ON A GREAT BATTLEFIELD OF THAT WAR · WE HAVE COME TO DEDICATE A PORTION OF THAT FIELD AS A FINAL RESTING PLACE FOR THOSE WHO HERE GAVE THEIR LIVES THAT THAT NATION MIGHT LIVE · IT IS ALTOGETHER FITTING AND PROPER THAT WE SHOULD DO THIS · BUT IN A LARGER SENSE WE CAN NOT DEDICATE · WE CAN NOT CONSECRATE · WE CAN NOT HALLOW · THIS GROUND · THE BRAVE MEN LIVING AND DEAD WHO STRUGGLED HERE HAVE CONSECRATED IT FAR ABOVE OUR POOR POWER TO ADD OR DETRACT · THE WORLD WILL LITTLE NOTE NOR LONG REMEMBER WHAT WE SAY HERE BUT IT CAN NEVER FORGET WHAT THEY DID HERE · IT IS FOR US THE LIVING RATHER TO BE DEDICATED HERE TO THE UNFINISHED WORK WHICH THEY WHO FOUGHT HERE HAVE THUS FAR SO NOBLY ADVANCED · IT IS RATHER FOR US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO THE GREAT TASK REMAINING BEFORE US · THAT FROM THESE HONORED DEAD WE TAKE INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION · THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN · THAT THIS NATION UNDER GOD SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM · AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH ·

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

Delivered at Gettysburg, Pa., Nov. 19, 1863.

From the tablet in the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 7, 1863—7 p. m.

MRS. A. LINCOLN, Metropolitan Hotel, New York:

Tad has received his book. The carriage shall be ready at 6 p. m. to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.

Charles P. Kirkland, New York.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 7, 1863.

CHARLES P. KIRKLAND, ESQ., New York.

I have just received and have read your published letter to the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis. Under the circumstances I may not be the most competent judge, but it appears to me to be a paper of great ability, and for the country's sake more than for my own I thank you for it.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Miss Julia Kirkland, Utica, N. Y.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 15, 1863.

MOTHER MARY GONYEAG, Superior, Academy of Visitation, Keokuk, Iowa:

The President has no authority as to whether you may raffle for the benevolent object you mention. If there is no objection in the Iowa laws, there is none here.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 17, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBUT, Memphis, Tenn.:

I understand you have under sentence of death, a tall old man, by the name of Henry F. Luckett. I personally knew him, and did not think him a bad man. Please do not let him be executed unless upon further order from me, and in the meantime send me a transcript of the record.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 22, 1863.

MILITARY COMMANDER, Point Lookout, Md.:

If you have a prisoner by the name Linder—Daniel Linder, I think, and certainly the son of U. F. Linder, of Illinois, please send him to me by an officer.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 26, 1863.

HON. U. F. LINDER, Chicago, Ill.:

Your son Dan has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War, to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him and send him to you.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 5, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE:

If not inconsistent with the service, please allow General William Harrow as long a leave of absence as the rules permit with the understanding that I may lengthen it if I see fit. He is an acquaintance and friend of mine, and his family matters very urgently require his presence.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 15, 1864.

GOVERNOR BROUGH, Columbus, Ohio:

If Private William G. Toles, of Fifty-ninth Ohio Volunteers, returns to his regiment and faithfully serves out his term, he is fully pardoned for all military offenses prior to this.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1864.

R. T. LINCOLN, Cambridge, Mass.:

There is a good deal of small-pox here. Your friends must judge for themselves whether they ought to come or not.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SICKLES, New York:

Could you, without it being inconvenient or disagreeable to yourself, immediately take a trip to Arkansas for me?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, February 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I cannot remember at whose request it was that I gave the pass to Mrs. Bulkly. Of course detain her, if the evidence of her being a spy is strong against her.

A. LINCOLN.

W. Jayne.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 26, 1864.

HON. W. JAYNE.

DEAR SIR: I dislike to make changes in office so long as they can be avoided. It multiplies my embarrassments immensely. I dislike two appointments when one will do. Send me the name of some man not the present marshal, and I will nominate him to be Provost Marshal for Dakota.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by Dr. William Jayne, Springfield, Ill.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Va.:

I am pressed to get from Libby, by special exchange, Jacob C. Hagenbuck, first lieutenant, Company H, Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. Please do it if you can without detriment or embarrassment.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE, Army of Potomac:

Private William Collins of Company B, of the Sixty-ninth New

York Volunteers, has been convicted of desertion, and execution suspended as in numerous other cases. Now Captain O'Neill, commanding the regiment, and nearly all its other regimental and company officers, petition for his full pardon and restoration to his company. Is there any good objection?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 20, 1864.

Calvin Truesdale, Esq., Postmaster, Rock Island, Ill.:

Thomas J. Pickett, late agent of the Quartermaster's Department for the island of Rock Island, has been removed or suspended from that position on a charge of having sold timber and stone from the island for his private benefit. Mr. Pickett is an old acquaintance and friend of mine, and I will thank you, if you will, to set a day or days and place on and at which to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett and one J. B. Danforth (who as I understand makes the charge) to be present with their witnesses. Take the testimony in writing offered by both sides, and report it in full to me. Please do this for me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

(From Herndon's "Life of Lincoln." Permission of Jesse Weik.)

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., April 21, 1864.

Major-General Dix, New York:

Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass., suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, April 25, 1864.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a peti-

tion I believe, in the case of Dawson, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, Washington, May 9, 1864.

Mrs. Sarah B. Meconkey, West Chester, Pa.

Madam: Our mutual friend, Judge Lewis tells me you do me the honor to inquire for my personal welfare. I have been very anxious for some days in regard to our armies in the field, but am considerably cheered, just now, by favorable news from them. I am sure that you will join me in the hope for their further success; while yourself, and other good mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, do all you and they can, to relieve and comfort the gallant soldiers who compose them.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

(Original owned by Columbia University Library.)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., May 21, 1864.

Christiana A. Sack, Baltimore, Md.:

I cannot postpone the execution of a convicted spy on a mere telegraphic dispatch signed with a name I never heard before. General Wallace may give you a pass to see him if he chooses.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 29, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point:

Dr. Worster wishes to visit you with a view of getting your permission to introduce into the army "Harmon's Sandal Sock." Shall I give him a pass for that object?

A. Lincoln.

ENDORSEMENT OF APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT.

August 15, 1864.

I am always for the man who wishes to work; and I shall be glad for this man to get suitable employment at Cavalry Depot, or elsewhere.

A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther, Chicago, Ill.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 26, 1864.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON, Nashville, Tenn.:

Thanks to General Gillam for making the news and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1864.

HON. THOMAS T. DAVIS, Syracuse, N. Y.:

I have ordered that Milton D. Norton be discharged on taking the oath. Please notify his mother.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 19, 1864.

OFFICER IN COMMAND at Davenport, Iowa:

Let the Indian "Big Eagle" be discharged. I ordered this some time ago.

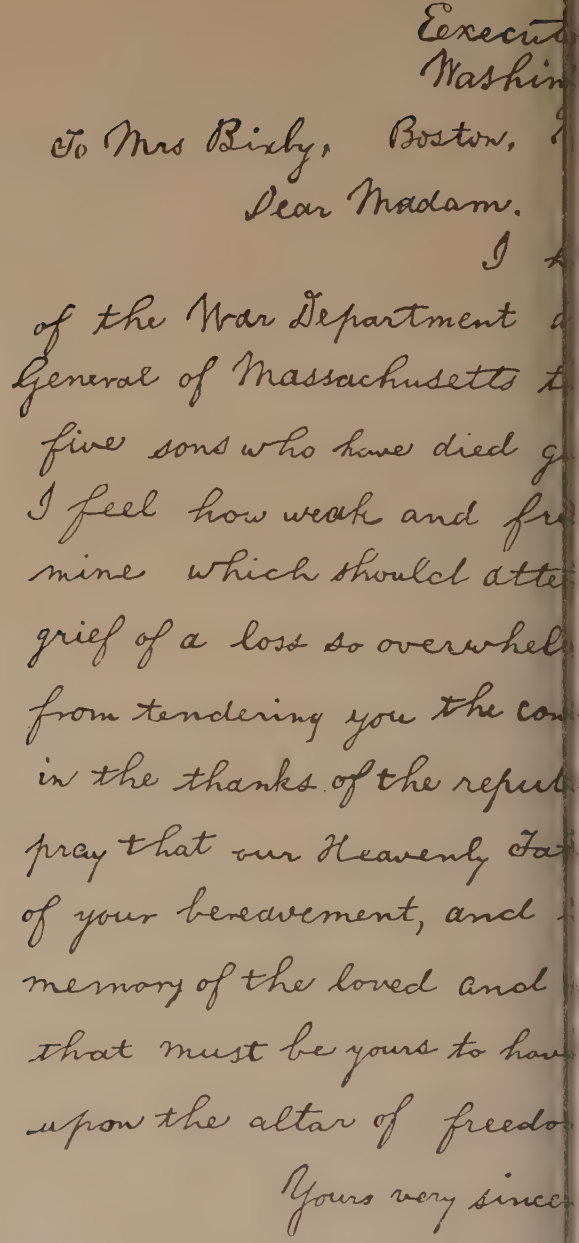
A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, November 26, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS:

Please telegraph me briefly on what charge and evidence Mrs. Anna B. Martin has been sent to the Penitentiary at Alton.

A. LINCOLN.



Executive
Washin

To Mrs Bixby, Boston,

Dear Madam.

I

of the War Department a
General of Massachusetts t
five sons who have died g
I feel how weak and fr
mine which should atte
grief of a loss so overwhel
from tendering you the co
in the thanks of the repub
pray that our Heavenly Fa
of your bereavement, and
memory of the loved and
that must be yours to hav
upon the altar of freedo

Yours very sincer

THE CELEBRA
Facsimile of the Original Manuscript on
A Letter of Condolence Written by Abraham Li

Mansion
Nov 21. 1864

been shown in the files
tement of the Adjutant
now are the mother of
usly on the field of battle
must be any word of
to beguile you from the
But I cannot refrain
tion that may be found
they died to save I
may assuage the anguish
you only the cherished
and the solemn pride
ed so costly a sacrifice

and respectfully
A. Lincoln

Y LETTER."
hat Huber's Museum in New York City.
ss. Bixby, of Boston, Mass., November 21, 1864.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
December 8, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSECRANS, Commanding, Saint Louis, Mo.:

Let execution in case of John Berry and James Berry be suspended until further order.

A. LINCOLN.

MAJOR ECKERT:

Will you please hurry off the above? To-morrow is the day of execution.

JOHN HAY,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, December 29, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER:

There is a man in Company I, Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, First Brigade, Third Division, Twenty-fourth Army Corps, at Chapin's Farm, Va., under the assumed name of William Stanley, but whose real name is Frank R. Judd, and who is under arrest, and probably about to be tried for desertion. He is the son of our present minister to Prussia, who is a close personal friend of Senator Trumbull and myself. We are not willing for the boy to be shot, but we think it as well that his trial go regularly on, suspending execution until further order from me and reporting to me.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL ORD:

You have a man in arrest for desertion passing by the name of Stanley. William Stanley, I think, but whose real name is different. He is the son of so close a friend of mine that I must not let him be executed. Please let me know what is his present and prospective condition.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, January 21, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WALLACE, Baltimore, Md.:

Two weeks or ten days ago, as I remember, I gave direction

for Levin L. Waters to be either tried at once or discharged. If he has not been tried, nor a trial of him progressing in good faith discharge him at once.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 22, 1865.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Md.

The case of Waters being as you state it, in your dispatch of to-day, of course the trial will proceed.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 17, 1865.

Officer in Command at Harper's Ferry:

Chaplain Fitzgibbon yesterday sent me a dispatch invoking clemency for Jackson, Stewart and Randall, who are to be shot to-day. The dispatch is so vague that there is no means here of ascertaining whether or not the execution of sentence of one or more of them may not already have been ordered. If not suspend execution of sentence in their cases until further orders and forward records of trials for examination.

A. Lincoln.

Major Eckert:

Please send above telegram.

Jno. G. Nicolay.

Washington, March 13, 1865.

Hon. Henry T. Blow, Saint Louis, Mo.:

A Miss E. Snodgrass, who was banished from Saint Louis in May, 1863, wishes to take the oath and return home. What say you?

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
March 25, 1865. (Received 5 p. m.)

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

I am here within five miles of the scene of this morning's action. I have nothing to add to what General Meade reports ex-

cept that I have seen the prisoners myself and they look like there might be the number he states—1,600.

A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., March 26, 1865. (Received 11.30 a. m.)
Hon. Secretary of War:

I approve your Fort Sumter programme. Grant don't seem to know Yeatman very well, but thinks very well of him so far as he knows. Thinks it probable that Y. is here now, for the place. I told you this yesterday as well as that you should do as you think best about Mr. Whiting's resignation, but I suppose you did not receive the dispatch. I am on the boat and have no later war news than went to you last night.

A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., March 30, 1865—7.30 p. m.
(Received 8.30 p. m.)

Hon. Secretary of War:

I begin to feel that I ought to be at home and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning and although he has not been divested from his programme no considerable effort has yet been produced so far as we know here. Last night at 10.15 p. m. when it was dark as a rainy night without a moon could be, a furious cannonade soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns up the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done.

A. Lincoln.

(Cypher)

City Point, Va., April 1, 1865—5.30 p. m.
(Received 8.30 p. m.)

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Dispatch just received showing that Sheridan, aided by Warren had at 2 p. m. pushed the enemy back so as to retake the five forks and bring his own headquarters up to I. Boisseans. The five forks were barricaded by the enemy and carried by Diven's division of cavalry. This part of the enemy seems to now be

trying to work along the White Oak road to join the main force in front of Grant, while Sheridan and Warren are pressing them as closely as possible.

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 2, 1865.

MRS. LINCOLN:

At 4.30 p. m. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to river above, and has captured since he started last Wednesday, about 12,000 prisoners and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do. Tad and I are both well, and will be glad to see you and your party here at the time you name.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) CITY POINT, VA., April 3, 1865—5 p. m.
(Received 7 p. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR:

Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg, stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself.

A. LINCOLN.

(Cypher) CITY POINT, VA., April 4, 1865—8 a. m.
(Received 8.45 a. m.)

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

General Weitzel telegraphs from Richmond that of railroad stock he found there, 28 locomotives, 44 passenger and baggage cars, and 106 freight cars At 3.30 this evening General Grant from Southerland Station, 10 miles from Petersburg toward Burkesville telegraphs as follows:

"General Sheridan picked up 1,200 prisoners to-day and from 300 to 500 more have been gathered by other troops. The majority of the arms that were left in the hands of the remnant of Lee's army are now scattered between Richmond and where his troops are. The country is also full of stragglers, the line of

retreat marked with artillery, ammunition, burned or charred wagons, caissons, ambulances, &c."

A. LINCOLN.

CITY POINT, VA., April 5, 1865. (Received 11.55 p. m.)
HON. SECRETARY OF STATE:

Yours of to-day received. I think there is no probability of my remaining here more than two days longer. If that is too long come down. I passed last night at Richmond and have just returned.

A. LINCOLN.

Head Quarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, April 7. 11 Am. 1865

Lieut Gen. Grant

Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender" Let the thing be pressed.

A. Lincoln

The original dispatch sent by Mr. Lincoln to me, April 7th 1865.
U. S. Grant

HEAD QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CITY POINT, April 7, 11 a. m., 1865.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed. A. LINCOLN.

(Original owned by C. F. Gunther of Chicago, Ill.)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MONEY SENSE*

Abraham Lincoln's biographers have a new task: to break down, or at least modify, several of the oldest and most stoutly held traditions of himself and his family. One of these is that he was an almost pitifully poor man, struggling from boyhood to death under a load of debt and leaving practically nothing behind. While personally I have never held the extreme view of the matter, yet I confess to real surprise when, a few months ago, I was asked suddenly how it could have been that Mr. Lincoln accumulated an estate of one hundred thousand dollars. I had to answer that I did not know that he had done so, that it never occurred to me to ask what he left. The question up, however, had to be answered; and, being in Springfield, Illinois, soon afterward, I went to the courthouse, where I knew that his will, if he had left one, or, if not, the settlement made by his executors of what he possessed at death would be on file.

They are easy to find, these papers, for the clerk of the court, knowing their value and no doubt being called upon frequently to show them, keeps them in his own desk. "We have had too many interesting Lincoln documents carried off by people who call themselves 'students' to leave these in the files," he remarked. He is a wise clerk. As a matter of fact, there is not a courthouse in Illinois where Mr. Lincoln did business but that has lost papers bearing his signature. The legal papers which make so many Lincoln collections in this country interesting are practically all stolen goods!

Abraham Lincoln left no will; but after his death, at the request of Mrs. Mary Lincoln, his widow, and Robert Lincoln, his son, who was then of age, the Hon. David Davis, of Bloomington, Illinois, was appointed administrator. When Judge Davis came to make his final settlement the next year, 1866, there was divided between the three heirs—Mrs. Lincoln, Robert Lincoln, and Thomas Lincoln, the President's beloved "Tad"—$110,974.62, giving each of them $36,991.54.

Now, this is a tidy sum. I think we will all agree that a man worth $100,000 in 1865 would be rated in his community as a man worth a half-million is rated to-day. How did he get this money which so upsets our theories of his poverty? What were

*Published in the *American Magazine* for February, 1924.

Abraham Lincoln's theories of making money? And what were his experiences?

The first twenty-three years of his life were spent, as we know, at hard labor; and for the most part it was hard labor paid not in money but in produce. Precious little money passed hands in southwestern Indiana, in Macon County and in Sangamon County, Illinois, when Lincoln was laboring in these places. Direct barter of goods produced prevailed. The Lincolns in Indiana loaded their pork and corn and wood onto their heavy wagon, carried it sixteen miles to the Ohio River, exchanging it for groceries, tools, household and shop supplies. Or they joined their neighbors in making up a boatload of produce, which floated down the Ohio into the Mississippi, trading at various points as they went. At the start in Illinois they bartered directly at the store in Decatur what they raised for what they needed. Lincoln himself had handled little money up to the time he left home in 1831.

His early experiences in New Salem, at setting up a business for himself as a grocer, were failures, loading him down with debt. After he gave up store-keeping and became a deputy surveyor for Sangamon County, his earnings were a little more, possibly $25 a month; when he came to go to the assembly in 1836, he had to borrow money to buy the broadcloth suit and satin vest and stock that he thought suitable, for Lincoln did not go to Vandalia in a coonskin cap and moccasins as he has sometimes been pictured.

Then came the law, from 1837 on. And it was from the law, from 1837 to the Presidency, that his money came. There was no time in all this period when, if he had had what we call the money sense, or anything of the speculator's spirit, he might not have done as so many of his friends of the bar and of the bench were doing—speculated in land. Judge Davis, his administrator, Jesse Fell and Leonard Swett, his most intimate friends, all the leading citizens and lawyers of Illinois in Lincoln's time, were buying and selling land. Fell owned at one time over three hundred acres of the land on which the city of Chicago stands, as well as enormous tracts in and around Bloomington. A portion of Decatur was once his. But Lincoln took no interest in land speculation—blind to his chances, his friends said.

As for his lawyer's fees, they were curtailed seriously by his lifelong concern that he should not receive any more for a thing

than the service was worth. He seems to have started out with this hampering principle. His theory about fees and their collection was clearly defined:

An exhorbitant fee should never be claimed [he wrote once]. As a general rule, never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel the same interest in the case as if something was still in prospect for you as well as for your client. And when you lack interest in the case, the job will very likely lack skill and diligence in the performance. Split the amount of fee and take a note in advance. Then you will feel that you are working for something, and you are sure to do your work faithfully and well. Never sell a fee note—at least not before the consideration service is performed. It leads to negligence and dishonesty—negligence by losing interest in the case, and dishonesty in refusing to refund when you have allowed the consideration to fail.

His fees seem absurdly small when we consider them to-day. For instance, there is a letter in which he says to a client who evidently has asked him to set a price: "If the case is as stated within I will attend to the case in the Supreme Court for ten dollars." If he thought he had been paid more than he had earned, he would return the money—quixotically, it seems, when we consider how little he really was getting. Once a client sent him twenty-five dollars for his services. Lincoln wrote back that he had received the check. "You must think I am a high-priced man," he said. "You are too liberal with your money. Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send a receipt for fifteen dollars and return you a ten dollar bill."

Go show that to the lawyers of to-day, and what would they say? It was a real and honest concern that he did not get more than he was worth.

And this punctiliousness went into everything that he did. There was the lecturing which he tried but never carried to a professional point, being overwhelmed, as I think most amateur speakers and even some of those who have arrived professionally are, by a doubt of the value of his services. He had received ten dollars for a lecture, and said moodily when the money was paid him that he didn't believe it was worth it!

This desire not to overcharge, to get too much, often made him uneasy after he had rendered a bill. In one case, after winning a suit and charging his client two hundred dollars, his conscience troubled him and he took a banker friend in Springfield into his confidence. "I am afraid I charged too much," he told him. As this conversation was going on they happened to meet the lawyer of the opposition, who had lost the case, and as they were all friends the banker said, "Let's ask him what he charged." "As I lost the case," the man replied, "I didn't want to overcharge, and he paid me three hundred dollars." As Lincoln had won, and charged two hundred dollars, his conscience seems to have been satisfied.

And yet he was not foolishly timid about fees. When he had won a difficult case which he knew meant a good deal of money to a client and the client was evidently able to pay, he charged for that day a good round sum. His biggest bill, so far as I know, was that sent to the Illinois Central road, after he had won an important tax suit. They disputed it. Lincoln hotly resented this, and finally, by mutual agreement between himself and the railroad, it was left to a committee of lawyers, who very promptly decided that the fee was moderate, considering the service. They probably were all of them glad enough to do this, for they all of them had long resented the modesty of Lincoln's charges—his over-conscientiousness, as they thought, lest he ask more than he was worth. Judge Davis was constantly rebuking him, for ruining the business, and once on the circuit a mock court tried him for the offense, and he was found guilty.

He not only wanted to balance service and return accurately, but all his life he loved to give professional service, where he could, for nothing. One of the joys of being able to do a thing with him was doing it purely for friendship's or helpfulness' sake. Nobody can estimate, I take it, the number of cases he tried for nothing, the amount of advice he gave for nothing.

It by no means was always lost effort. It built up for him in Illinois a devoted following of those whom he had helped out of tight places; they turned out a strong support when he was up for the Presidency. A Democrat of good and regular standing in one county was known to have voted for Lincoln in 1860. His partisan friends came down on him: "Why did you do it?"

"Because he is a good and generous man. When my wife and

I were young and very poor, we had to bring suit to recover property her guardian had dishonestly diverted. Lincoln was an associate in the trial, which was finally won. We were much concerned about the fee. Lincoln refused to take anything. We might count it, he said, as a wedding present, even if it did come late."

Not only did modest charges and free service keep down his returns, his generosity to those in trouble helped cut his income. In settling his estate, small sums of money—$50, $100, $200, that he had loaned to help somebody out, frequently turned up. One piece of property which he owned, a lot in Lincoln, Illinois, came from a mortgage for money loaned to help somebody in a tight place; the mortgage never having been paid the land reverted to him.

Here is a bit from his published correspondence, which illustrates his inability to resist a plea for help.

My old friend, Henry Chew, the bearer of this, is in a strait for some furniture to commence housekeeping. If any person will furnish him twenty-five dollars' worth, and he does not pay for it by the 1st of January next, I will.

A. Lincoln.

September 25th, 1858.

The sequel to the above is contained in the following:

Urbana, February 16th, 1859.

Hon. A. Lincoln,

Springfield, Illinois.

My Dear Friend: I herewith inclose your order which you gave your friend Henry Chew. You will please send me a draft for the same and oblige yours,

S. Little.

His devotion to his parents was constant. He stood by Tom Lincoln in Indiana before he was of age, although he felt strongly the pull of the Mississippi, and would have liked to have become a pilot. One almost regrets that he could not have realized his ambition. What a pilot he would have made! What a captain of a Mississippi steamboat! If he had been a pilot, might it not have been that Mark Twain as a boy—he was born in 1835—would have been a colleague! I cannot think of a more

wonderful young companion for Lincoln than the boy Mark Twain would have been, unless it was the boy John Hay, whom he did have in Washington, thank God!

But that Lincoln did not carry out that ambition was because he felt that his services belonged to his father. Many a time in later life when money matters were tight for him, he helped Tom Lincoln and his stepmother. After his father's death, it was he who saved a home for her in Coles County. We can be pretty sure that he regularly slipped her a five- or a ten- or twenty-dollar bill.

Considerate, however, as he was of those in trouble, he was very impatient of those who would not help themselves. I do not know more vigorous letters of advice to a man who has not been able to get a hold anywhere, and who is possessed by the notion that if he were only somewhere else, doing something else, he would have a chance, than those to his stepbrother, John Johnston.

Johnston, whom Lincoln had repeatedly helped, wanted to borrow money enough to move to Missouri. Lincoln diagnosed his case for him:

You are not lazy and still you are an idler. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work very much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty. . . .

What can you do in Missouri better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there any more than here raise corn and wheat and oats without work? Will anybody there any more than here do your work for you? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. . . . I feel it my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery. . . .

Do not misunderstand this letter; I do not write it in any unkindness. I write it in order, if possible, to get you to face the truth, which truth is, you are destitute because you have idled away all your time. Your thousand pretenses for not getting along better are all nonsense: they deceive nobody but yourself. Go to work is the only cure for your case.

Briefly stated, Abraham Lincoln's philosophy about money seems to have been: "Take the best thing that comes, do it with all your might, working constantly to fit yourself for something better. Be quite sure that you earn what you get. Self-respect demands that you take no more than you have earned. Give freely of your service to those in need. The reward is not all in money."

Now, on this basis of first concern about what you give, not what you get, and of sharing freely with others, what could a hard-working man do? (Lincoln was a hard-working man.) Was there anything in his money philosophy, as we may call it, to counteract modesty of charge and generosity toward others?

There was genuine frugality and evidently a conviction that part of his business was to save, save regularly, lay aside something. Just what he had been able to do before his marriage I do not know, probably little, if anything. We do know that he had a big debt on hand, due to high financing in grocery stores in New Salem, the National Debt he used to call it; but he was no sooner married in 1842—he was then nearly thirty-four years old—than he began to think of acquiring a home. This seems to have been part of his thrift creed: to get a home.

At this time Mr. Lincoln was probably not making over $1,200 a year, but money went much further then than now. He and Mary Lincoln began their life together at the Globe Tavern, a favorite hostelry of Springfield in those days. Their room and board there, according to a letter Mr. Lincoln wrote to his friend Speed in the Spring of 1843, cost them $4 a week. I suppose him to have meant $4 apiece, but even at that, the scale of prices in Springfield which it shows is proof enough that he had something to put by.

Many extracts have been published at different times from his account books with his successive Springfield law partners—Stuart, Logan, and Herndon—showing how modest his earnings were. It is difficult to say, however, whether all that the firms earned is set down on the books. There was a free and easy way about the handling of money in those days, quite shocking to us now, with out stricter notions, and the necessity the income tax puts upon us of keeping an accurate record of all that comes in and of all that goes out. Mr. Lincoln and his various law partners had a way of taking a fee in cash and dividing it on the spot. For instance, in the case of the biggest fee that

Lincoln ever received—that from the Illinois Central Railroad—Mr. Herndon tells how he brought the money home, in cash, nearly five thousand dollars, and gave him his share. Lincoln of course tried cases in connection with other lawyers in other towns, and probably divided the returns on the spot, so that we cannot be sure as to what he had at any particular time.

One of the most interesting records of his financial dealings which we have is the account kept from the year after his marriage, 1843, up to 1852, with John Irwin and Company, of Springfield. This John Irwin and Company carried on a general store and apparently, from the books, a kind of informal banking business. That is, they not only sold you goods, but you could borrow money from them as well as deposit money on account. Mr. Lincoln's accounts with Irwin and Company give little insight into what he was earning, but not a little into what he was spending. They are interesting, too, from the fact that at the end of every year there seems to have been close to a settlement. Thus, they gave him $765 in cash on February 3d, 1844; but he turned in that same day $588, and enough more as the year went on to bring him out at the end of the year only $13.65 behind.

The itemized account of what Mr. Lincoln was buying at this period, from 1844 on, gives us some rather close glimpses of his personal life. The story of the hurry with which he was finally married in November, 1842, is familiar enough. Perhaps it was too sudden for him to fit himself out properly for so important a matter, for the John Irwin account shows that in May of the next spring he bought cloth for a new suit, and had it made to order. It must have been a good one, for the cloth and linings cost $32.50, and Biddle, who made it, charged him $12.87! At the same time he bought a satin stock to go with his new suit, for which he paid $2, and a Leghorn hat which cost $1.50. So far as the accounts show, the outfit was completed with a tooth brush, twenty-five cents.

Mr. Lincoln was evidently making money enough when he and Mrs. Lincoln went to housekeeping, as they did in 1844, to keep a girl. And this girl seems to have been partly paid in merchandise, for one finds such items set down in the accounts as "one pair of shoes for girl," and "7 yards calico for girl at 12½c"—this in contrast to "30 yards of calico . . . for lady."

The Lincoln household was partly furnished through John

Irwin and Company, one item at least being for Mr. Lincoln himself—"one wood-saw frame." Nothing, however, in all this list of items, running over ten years, touches one so much as an entry made on October 4th, 1844: "One pair child's shoes, 38c." It is the first indication on these books that Mr. Robert Lincoln had come into the world, but more follow: "white flannel"—"tucking!"

In 1853, John Irwin and Company seems to have been amalgamated with the Springfield Marine and Fire Insurance Company, now the Springfield Marine Bank. Connected with this institution as a young man was one of the most interesting of Lincoln's later friends, Mr. John Bunn, who in his last years—he died only a few years ago—liked nothing better than to sit in his bank, looking out on the courthouse square at Springfield, and talk of Lincoln to those who had won his confidence—not an easy thing to do. It is from Mr. Bunn that I received my clearest notions of the simplicity, conscientiousness, and utter unselfishness of Lincoln's money dealings.

From the time of the founding of the new enterprise, Mr. Lincoln carried a regular bank account with his old friends. Certainly he did not deposit there all that he earned, nor does the outgo spread upon the books show all that he was spending. He had not yet acquired the habit, if he ever did, of depositing and checking on his account. His dealings were still largely in cash. He put his share of his fee in his pocket, and paid on the spot for much that he bought. When he came out of his office at night to go home, he probably remembered that Mrs. Lincoln had told him to bring home something for supper and he went in and bought a steak or a fish and paid for it.

Now the account in the Springfield bank begun, as I said, in 1853, ran until Mr. Lincoln's death, and almost every year he had at least a small balance to his credit. In 1854 he deposited $710, and drew it all out. The next year, 1855, he deposited $198, and at the end of the year he had a balance of $54.64. In 1856, he puts in on November 13th, $970, and draws it out a little over a month later. Was that an investment? The record does not show. His share of the $5,000 from the Illinois Central, presumably paid in 1856—the suit was in 1855—does not appear on the books, unless what is the largest entry in the whole thirteen years of business included this fee. On August 12th, 1857, Mr. Lincoln deposited $4,800. Was this his share of the

Illinois Central fee plus the nearly $2,000 that he got for going to Cincinnati in 1856 to defend the reaping machine patents of Manny and Company attacked by Cyrus H. McCormick? The money did not stay long in the bank, for it was drawn out nineteen days later—possibly this was invested.

In 1858, the year of the Douglas debates, the year in which he earned so little and spent so much that he said after the election in November that he did not have even money to pay his household expenses, he deposited less than $500; but at the same time he drew out only $33.34. Things began to pick up the next year, 1859—also expenses; but he came out, so far as the bank account shows, practically even. Indeed, he seems to have watched the account so closely that he almost never overdrew.

The account with the Springfield Bank ran on, as I have said, to 1865. When it was finally balanced on June 16th of that year, probably at the request of Judge David Davis, the administrator, $9,044.41 was paid over to the estate. In the whole period, from 1853 on, twelve years, Mr. Lincoln deposited $31,362.52 with this bank, and at the end they paid the estate $9,044.41. He may have had no money sense, as Mr. Herndon says, but he seems to have done better than—may we not say—the majority of men do. In spite of small earnings, he kept ahead of the game.

How much of this respectable balance came from money saved while he was in Washington, we do not know. What did he have when he went to Washington as President of the United States?

When the election came in 1860, as always happens, there were not a few who assured him that they could elect him if he could turn over—one man said $10,000. "I could not raise $10,000," Mr. Lincoln wrote him, "if it would save me from the fate of John Brown." This was not because he was not worth that amount, but it was because to raise it would imperil what he had saved. I do not believe that he would have done that even for the election: he had too strong a sense of obligation to his family. Nor was it because he objected altogether to contributing to a campaign fund. He always made it clear that he would not enter the ring on the money basis: in the first place he believed it was wrong—wrong, with certain modifications. There were "certain objects" in a political contest for which the use of money was right and indispensable. For these he always contributed ac-

cording to his means. Thus, in the contest with Douglas, he put in about $500, outside of his expenses, all of which he paid himself. These could not have been very heavy, however, because almost everywhere he was entertained by his friends, and his traveling was as simple and inexpensive as he could make it.

But Mr. Lincoln, when he was elected President, in spite of his plea of poverty, did have something. This the inventory of his estate proves. He owned his own house in Springfield, a modest but thoroughly comfortable house, in what was then an unfashionable part of the town. He owned a lot in the town of Lincoln, Logan County; he had a farm in Crawford County, Iowa, 120 acres, and 40 acres in Tama County—lands received from the Government for services in the Black Hawk War. There were a number of collectable bills: money that he had loaned to friends, the largest amount being N. B. Judd's note for $3,000—money which Mr. Lincoln had loaned him in 1859,* and which was bearing, like all the notes that Judge Davis sets down, interest at ten per cent. Altogether, Mr. Lincoln must have been worth when he went to Washington around $25,000.

It was at the beginning of his Presidency that he for the first time began to have regularly every month a considerable sum of money paid him. The salary of the President of the United States was then $25,000. This was the compensation set down in 1789, a salary which was not increased until March 3d, 1873. The Treasury Department tells me that when Mr. Lincoln entered the Presidency the practice was to issue monthly warrants covering advances, the salary account being adjusted and closed at the expiration of each Presidential term. A sample of the way the account was kept, that for the fiscal year of 1863, is shown on the following page.

The amount of the warrant was reduced $61, beginning with October 4th of 1862. It was a case of income tax. The revenue act of July 1st, 1862, taxed the salaries of all officers of the United States three per cent on everything above $600. In June

* Mr. George R. Harrison, the editor of Harrison's Home Farmer, wrote me after the first publication of this article, that Mr. Judd's note for $3,000, was secured to Mr. Lincoln by a deed on land now a part of Council Bluffs, Ia. Mr Harrison traced the ownership of this land from its present owners to Lincoln. When the estate was settled, Mrs. Lincoln and her sons deeded it back to Mr. Judd. Mr. Harrison found that in order to make the transfer legally correct a guardian for little Tad was appointed in Council Bluffs for exactly one day.

of 1864 this income tax was raised to five per cent on all official salaries over $600, so that, from that time on, Mr. Lincoln's monthly salary was reduced to $1,981.67. Thus, while the total amount of his salary the first year he was in office was $25,000, the second and third years it was $24,451, and for the last year, 1865, $22,012.67. The last payment which he received as President was on April 4th, 1865, eleven days before his death. Andrew Johnson, who succeeded him, got the whole of the May warrant.

Date of Issue	*Warrant Number*	*Amount*
July 3, 1862	8546	$ 2,083.33
Aug. 5, "	8655	2,083.33
Sept. 4, "	8732	2,083.34
Oct. 4, "	8805	2,022.33
Nov. 4, "	8910	2,022.33
Dec. 4, "	9002	2,022.34
Jan. 5, 1863	9114	2,022.33
Feb. 5, "	9225	2,022.33
March 4, "	9357	2,022.34
April 3, "	9487	2,022.33
May 4, "	9584	2,022.33
June 5, "	9717	2,022.34
	Total, Fiscal Year 1863	$24,451.00

This was of course not fair, as Mr. Lincoln had served for eleven days for which he received no pay, and in January, 1866, this matter was settled, a warrant for $992.92 being then drawn in favor of his estate. This settled the matter of salary up to his death; but a few months later Congress voted to Mrs. Lincoln $25,000, with the proviso that anything paid his estate after his death should be deducted. As a matter of fact, both the first month's salary paid before his death and the $992.92 were deducted—$22,025.34 being paid Mrs. Lincoln.

In addition to his regular salary, a President of the United States has certain perquisites: He has the White House; and to maintain and keep it and the grounds in proper repair, Congress appropriates a certain sum every year. Mr. Lincoln had, too, an appropriation of $4,600, for his private secretary and messenger. He had $1,000 for his office; but out of that he must

pay for stationery. He had $1,500 for a secretary to sign patents for public lands. And besides these amounts, there came to him numbers of gifts, which undoubtedly reduced the expense of housekeeping. Just as to-day, there were turkeys at Christmas, prize fruit, game, and fish in all seasons—things that helped out where you had careful housekeeping. And Mrs. Lincoln was a careful housekeeper, by all accounts.

The Lincolns lived simply in the White House. It was a time of war, and elaborate entertaining was inappropriate. They saved out of their salary, saved largely. Whatever the tales of Mrs. Lincoln's personal extravagance, I am inclined to think she was a great help to Mr. Lincoln in money matters. Certainly he kept her informed of what he was doing with their income. "I put the money into a Treasury at five per cent," he wrote in August, 1863, "with the privilege of withdrawing it at any time upon thirty days' notice." The probability is that nearly, if not quite, half of their annual salary was invested in government bonds, bonds possibly bought below par.

The only inventory found among the papers turned into the court by Judge Davis, the administrator of the Lincoln estate, is indefinite and incomplete. It only goes, as Judge Davis says, "so far as the same has come to my knowledge." The total amount of value listed, outside of real estate, is $83,342.70. The most important item in the inventory is $57,000 worth of "registered bonds bearing 6 per cent interest, payable in coin." Altogether the inventory shows $79,482.70 invested in United States securities, bearing interest. It includes also $3,860 of outstanding notes, on which Mr. Lincoln was drawing 10 per cent interest.

This inventory is $27,631.92 short of the sum divided between the Lincoln heirs in 1866. What went to swell the sum?

The real estate, of course. That is, the Lincoln homestead in Springfield, probably worth at that time about $4,000; the lot in Lincoln town; the Iowa land, all of which could not have been valued at more than $2,000. Although I have no documents to prove it, I think it is fair to suppose that the balance of the amount divided was made up by the $22,025.34 paid by Congress to Mrs. Lincoln early in 1866.

Mr. Lincoln saved while he was in the Presidency, and if he had lived out his second term he would have been worth at the end fully $150,000.

His instinctive habit of responding to need wherever he met it was not changed by the pressure of office and war. He could no more overlook a common human appeal as President of the United States than he could back in New Salem or Springfield. Touching proofs of his efforts to help out those in trouble have come to us in checks from the Riggs Bank of Washington, with which he did most, though not all, of his business during the Presidency. The most familiar of these is that of the check to the "colored man with one leg." Another is an order to pay three dollars to Mr. Johnson ("a sick man"). There is no doubt that he helped out old friends constantly by gifts and by loans. Judge Davis's inventory shows that he was taking notes from friends during his Presidency as before. One recorded note is from M. B. Church of Springfield—$260, loaned in November, 1864, marked by Judge Davis as "worthless."

When President on $25,000 a year, as when a lawyer on $1,500 to $2,000, he lived carefully, paid his bills, helped the weak where he could, and always put something away for the future. That he put away more out of respect for principle than from a desire to accumulate seems certain. A man should work, do his best, lay up something, help his brother man where he could—this seems to have been, in simple terms, the whole financial philosophy of Abraham Lincoln.

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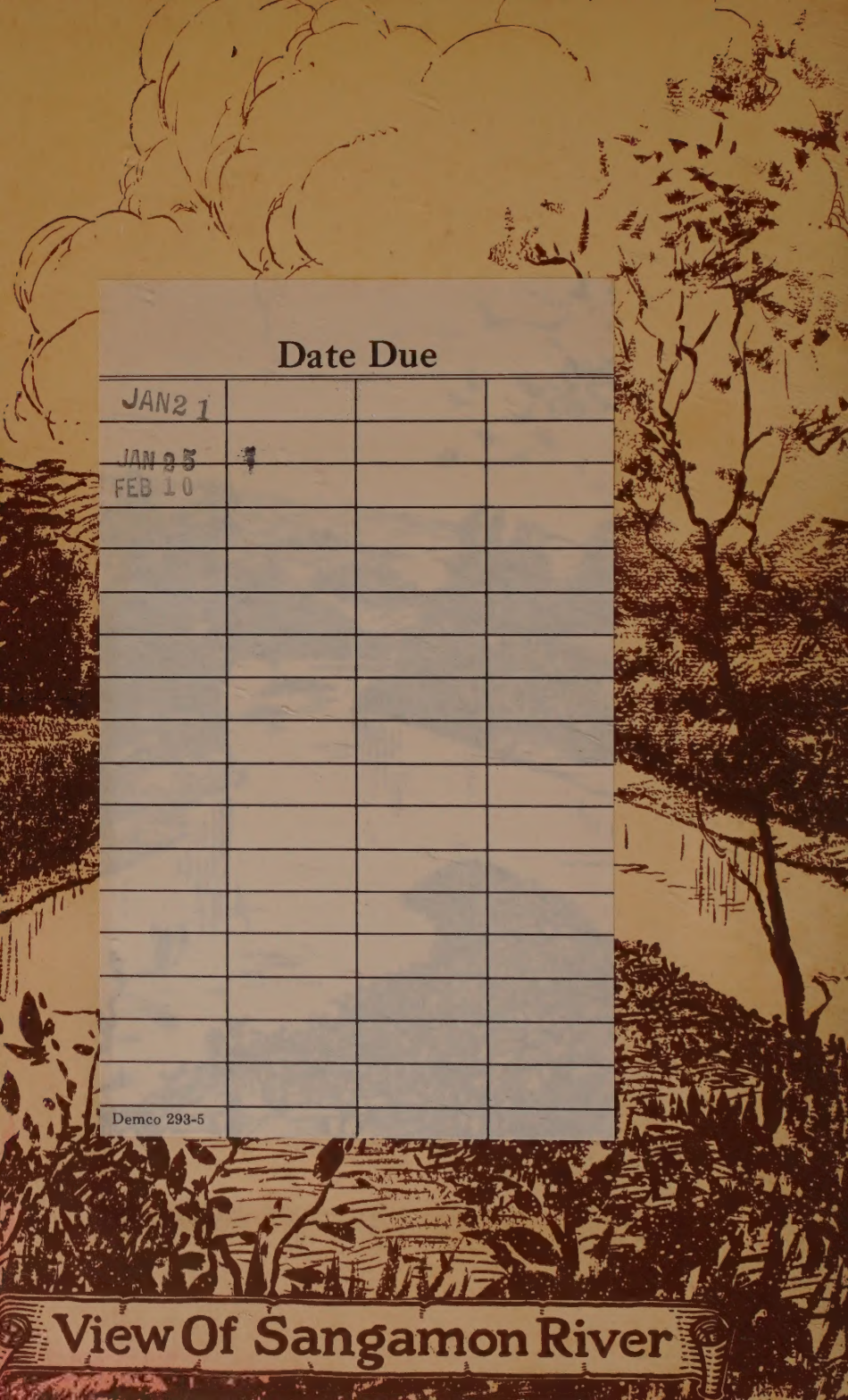

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